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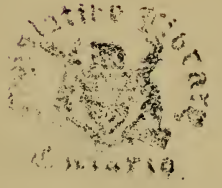

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JOURNAL

OF THE

PRIVATE LIFE

AND

CONVERSATIONS

OF THE

EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT SAINT HELENA

BY

THE COUNT DE LAS CASES

VOL. IV.

PART THE SEVENTH.

LONDON:

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ERRATA.

Page 78. line 14. After the word *fortune*, read,—" Caroline possesses great " talents and capacity.

Page 98. line 6. After *system*, read,—" After the treaty of Amiens, by which " France regained her Indian possessions, I had this " grand question thoroughly discussed before me, and at " great length; I heard both statesmen and commercial " men; and my final opinion was in favour of free trade, " and against companies.

Page 232. Omit line 18.

MY RESIDENCE

WITH

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT ST. HELENA.

Napoleon's Views and Intentions with respect to the Russian War.—Official Instructions.

Friday, Oct. 25, 1816.—I attended the Emperor at his toilette. The weather was tolerably fine, and he went out, and walked as far as the wood. He was very feeble; for it was now ten days since he had stirred out. He felt a weakness in his knees; and remarked, that he should soon be obliged to lean on me for support.

* The calash now came up with us. It was driven, four-in-hand, by Archambaud; for no other arrangement had been made since the departure of his brother. At first, the Emperor declined getting into it; he did not think it safe to drive in this way, among so many trunks of trees.

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* I think it proper to repeat here, in their right place, the three paragraphs which were erroneously inserted at the conclusion of the preceding day. See Part VI.

He alluded to his famous fall at St. Cloud; and wished one of the English valets to mount as a postillion. But Archambaud protested that that plan would be more unsafe than his driving alone. He said, that since his brother's departure, he had regularly practised driving among the trees, and that he was sure he might be trusted. The Emperor, therefore, got into the calash, and we took two turns within our prescribed limits. On his way home, he visited the residence of the Grand Marshal, which he had not yet seen.

The evening was concluded by reading some passages from the Medea of Longepierre; and the Emperor compared the tragedy with that of Euripides on the same subject, which he ordered to be brought to him. He observed that he had formerly given directions for having one of the tragedies of Euripides represented in its complete form at the court theatre: the best translation was to have been selected for this purpose; and with respect to manners, forms, costume, and decorations, it was to approximate as closely as possible to the original. He could not recollect what obstacle had impeded the execution of this plan.

On returning to his chamber, the Emperor did not feel inclined to sleep. After walking about a little, he threw himself on his sofa, and opening a sort of political almanack, which lay beside him, he happened to cast his eye on a list of the French Marshals. He took a review of them all; accom-

panying his remarks with anecdotes, some of which have been long known, and others have already been related in the course of this journal. On Marshal Jourdan he dwelt for a considerable time; and, in conclusion, remarked: "I certainly used "that man very ill; and it was, of course, natural "to expect that he should dislike me. But I "have learned with pleasure, that since my fall, "he invariably acted in the best manner. He has "thus afforded an example of that praiseworthy "elevation of mind, which distinguishes men one "from another. Jourdan is a true patriot; and "that is an answer to many things that have been "said of him."

Passing to other topics, he made many observations on the Russian war.

Among other things he said: "That war should "have been the most popular of any in modern "times. It was a war of good sense and true "interests; a war for the repose and security "of all; it was purely pacific and preservative; "entirely European and continental. Its success "would have established a balance of power; and "would have introduced new combinations, by "which the dangers of the time present, would "have been succeeded by future tranquillity. In "this case, ambition had no share in my views. "In raising Poland, which was the key-stone of "the whole arch, I would have permitted a King "of Prussia, an Archduke of Austria, or any other

" to occupy the throne. I had no wish to obtain " any new acquisition; and I reserved to myself " only the glory of doing good, and the blessings " of posterity. Yet this undertaking failed, and " proved my ruin, though I never acted more " disinterestedly, and never better merited suc- " cess. As if popular opinion had been seized " with contagion, in a moment, a general outcry, " a general sentiment, arose against me. I was " proclaimed to be the destroyer of kings; I, who " had created them! I was denounced as the " subverter of the rights of nations; I, who was " about to risk all to secure them! And people " and kings, those irreconcilable enemies, leagued " together and conspired against me! All the " acts of my past life were now forgotten. I said " truly, that popular favour would return to me " with victory; but victory escaped me, and I was " ruined. Such is mankind, and such is my his- " tory; but both people and kings will have cause " to regret me; and my memory will be suffi- " ciently avenged for the injustice committed " upon me: that is certain."

N. B.—If certain passages in the above conversation of Napoleon should require illustration or proof, these will be found in the following letter. The document is highly valuable on account of its date and contents; for the motives and views of the Russian expedition are here developed by Napoleon at the moment when he was about to

embark in the enterprise. The vulgar were certainly far from comprehending or rendering justice to his intentions; I say the vulgar, for it is just to remark, that among statesmen and men of foresight and extended views, the Russian war was very popular. They disapproved of the moment at which it was undertaken; but they fully appreciated all the great intentions of the Emperor.

Instructions given to M. . . . ., to serve as his Guide in the Mission which he will have to fulfil in Poland. (*April* 18, 1812.)

"Sir,—The high opinion which the Emperor entertains of your fidelity and talent, induces him to advance you so far in his confidence, as to intrust you with a mission of the utmost political interest. This mission will require *activity, prudence, and discretion.*

"You are to proceed to Dresden. The ostensible object of your journey will be to present to the King of Saxony a letter, which the Emperor will deliver to you to-morrow after his levee. His Imperial and Royal Majesty, has already acquainted you with his intentions; he will communicate to you, verbally, his final instructions respecting the overtures which you are to make to the King of Saxony.

"It is the Emperor's intention that the King of Saxony should be treated with all the consideration to which he is entitled, from the particular

esteem which his Majesty entertains for him personally. You will explain yourself both to the King and his Ministers, with unreserved candour; and you will give credit to the hints you may receive from the Count de St. Pilsac.

"With respect to Saxony, there will be *no sacrifice without compensation.*

"Saxony can attach but little importance to the sovereignty of the Duchy of Warsaw, such as it now exists: it is a precarious and troublesome possession. The sovereignty of that fragment of Poland, places Saxony in a false position with regard to Prussia, Austria, and Russia. You will develope these ideas, and treat this question in the way in which it was discussed in your presence, in his Majesty's closet, on the 17th. You will find the Dresden cabinet not much inclined to oppose you; its diplomacy has presented to us the same observations, on several previous occasions. The matter in question is not the dismemberment of the states of the King of Saxony.

"After a short stay at Dresden, you will announce your departure for Warsaw; *where you will await new orders from the Emperor.*

"His Imperial Majesty begs that the King of Saxony will accredit you to his Polish Ministry.

"At Warsaw, you will concert your measures with Prince . . ., the Emperor's chamberlain, and with General . . . . These two individuals, who are descended from the most illustrious Polish

families, have promised to exercise the influence they possess among their fellow citizens, to induce them to exert every effort for securing the happiness and independence of their country. You must communicate to the government of the Grand Duchy, an impulse calculated to prepare the great changes which the Emperor proposed to make in favour of the Polish nation.

" It is necessary that the Poles should second the designs of the Emperor, and co-operate in their own regeneration. *They must consider France only as an auxiliary power.*

" The Emperor is aware of the difficulties he will have to encounter, in his endeavours to bring about the re-establishment of Poland. That great political work will oppose the *apparent and immediate interests of his allies.*

" The re-establishment of Poland, by the arms of the French Empire, is a hazardous and even a perilous enterprize, in which France will have to contend against her friends, as well as her enemies. We will enter into a few details on this point.

" The object which the Emperor has in view, is the organization of Poland, *with the whole or a portion of her old territory;* and he wishes, if possible, to effect this object without engaging in war. In furtherance of this design, his Majesty has granted very extensive powers to his ambassador at St. Petersburgh: he has sent to Vienna a negotia-

tor, authorized to treat with the principal powers, and to offer great sacrifices in territory, on the part of the French Empire, *by way of indemnity for the cessions to be made for the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland.*

" Europe is separated into three great divisions: in the west, the French Empire; in the centre, the German States; and in the east, the Russian Empire. England can only possess, on the Continent, the interest which the Powers are willing to reserve to her.

" A strong organization of the centre will be necessary, as a precautionary measure, lest Russia or France should one day be tempted to extend their power, and to attempt to gain the supremacy in Europe. The French Empire is now in the enjoyment of the full energy of her existence: if she do not, at this moment, complete the political constitution of Europe, to-morrow she may lose the advantages of her situation, and fail in her enterprises.

" The conversion of Prussia into a military state, the reign and conquests of Frederick the Great, the opinions of the age, and those of the French revolution, have annihilated the Germanic Confederation. The Confederation of the Rhine, is only part of a provisional system. The Princes who have been gainers, would probably wish for the consolidation of that system; but those who have been losers, and the people who have suffered

from the calamities of war, and the states who dread the too great increase of the French power, will seize every opportunity of opposing the maintenance of the Rhinish confederation. Even the Princes who have been aggrandized by the new system, will seek to withdraw themselves from it, as soon as time shall establish them in the possessions they have obtained. France will, in the end, find herself deprived of a protectorate, which, certainly, she will have purchased by too many sacrifices.

" The Emperor is of opinion, that ultimately, at a period which cannot be far distant, it will be proper to restore the states of Europe to their complete independence.

" The house of Austria, which possesses three vast kingdoms, must be the soul of this independence, on account of the topographical situation of its States; but it must not be the ruling power. In case of a rupture between the two Empires of France and Russia, if the confederation of the intermediate powers were actuated by one and the same impulse, the ruin of one of the contending parties would necessarily ensue. The French Empire would be more exposed to danger than the Russian Empire.

" The centre of Europe must be composed of states unequal in power, and each possessing its own peculiar system of policy. These states, from their situation and political relations, will seek

support in the protection of the preponderating powers; and they will be interested in the maintenance of peace, because they must always be the victims of war. With these views, after raising up new states and aggrandizing old ones, in order to fortify our system of alliance for the future, the establishment of Poland is an object, of the utmost interest to the Emperor and to Europe. If the Kingdom of Poland be not restored, Europe will be without a frontier on that point; and Austria and Germany will be face to face, with the most powerful Empire in the world.

"The Emperor foresees, that Poland, like Prussia, will ultimately become the ally of Russia; but, if Poland should owe her restoration to France, the period of the union of the above-mentioned states will be sufficiently remote to afford time for the consolidation of the established order of things. Europe being thus organized, there will no longer be any cause of rivalry between France and Russia: these two Empires will have the same commercial interests, and will act in conformity with the same principles.

"Before the coolness with Prussia, the Emperor's first intention was to form a solid alliance with the King of Prussia, and to place the crown of Poland on his head. There were then few obstacles to be surmounted: for Prussia was already in possession of one third of Poland; Russia would have been left in possession of what she

might have insisted on retaining; and indemnities would have been granted to Austria. But the progress of events occasioned the Emperor to alter his intentions.

"At the time of the negotiations of Tilsit, it was found necessary to create states precisely in those countries which most dreaded the power of France. The moment was favourable for the re-establishment of Poland, though it would have been the work of violence and force. The war must have been prolonged; the French army was suffering from cold and want; and Russia had armies on foot. The Emperor was touched by the generous sentiments which the Emperor Alexander manifested towards him. He experienced obstacles on the part of Austria; and he suffered his policy to be overruled by the desire of signing a peace, which he hoped to have rendered lasting, if, through the influence of Russia and Austria, England had been prevailed on to consent to a general reconciliation.

"Prussia, after her reverses, manifested such a spirit of hatred towards France, that it was deemed necessary to diminish her power. With this view, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was created. It was placed under the dominion of the King of Saxony, a prince, whose whole life had been devoted to the happiness of his subjects. Endeavours were made to conciliate the Poles, by the establishment of institutions agreeable to their tastes, and conform-

able with their manners and national character. But all was badly managed.

" Saxony, separated from her new possessions by Prussia, could not, with Poland, constitute a body sufficiently organized to become strong and powerful. The opening of a military road through the Prussian territory, to communicate between Saxony and Poland, greatly humbled the Prussians; and the Poles complained of disappointed hopes.

" The Emperor stipulated for the occupation of the fortresses of Prussia, in order to ensure the certainty that that power would not seek to rekindle the torch of war. The campaign of 1809, proved the prudence of his policy. He adopted the firm resolution of labouring unremittingly to complete the system of organization in Europe, which was calculated to put a period to disastrous wars.

" The Emperor conceived that he must appear formidable, from the number of troops which he has marched towards the Vistula, and from the occupation of the fortresses of Prussia; measures which were necessary for ensuring the fidelity of his allies, and obtaining, by means of negotiations, what, perhaps, he can, after all, secure only by war.

" The dangers of the present circumstances are immense. The removal of armies to the distance of five hundred leagues from their native territory, cannot be unattended by risk; and Poland must

rely as much on her own exertions as on the support of the Emperor. I once more repeat, that if war should ensue, the Poles must consider France only as an auxiliary, operating in aid of their own resources. Let them call to mind the time, when, by their patriotism and courage, they resisted the numerous armies who assailed their independence.

"The people of the Grand Duchy wish for the re-establishment of Poland; it is for them to prepare the means by which the usurped provinces may be enabled to declare their wishes. The government of the Grand Duchy must, as soon as circumstances permit, combine, under the banner of independence, the dismembered fragments of their unfortunate country. Should it happen that any natives of Poland, under the dominion of Russia or Austria, shall refuse to return to the mother country, no attempt must be made to compel them to do so. Poland must derive her strength from her public spirit and patriotism, as well as from the institutions which will constitute the new social state.

"The object of your mission, therefore, is, to enlighten, encourage, and direct the Polish patriots in their operations. You will render an account of your negotiations to the minister for foreign affairs, who will acquaint the Emperor with your progress; and you will send me abstracts of your reports.

" The misfortunes and weakness of the Polish republic, were occasioned by an aristocracy, which knew neither law nor restraint. At that period, as at present, the nobility were powerful; the citizens oppressed; and the great mass of the people were nothing. But even amidst these disorders, a love of liberty and independence prevailed in Poland, and long supported her feeble existence. These sentiments must have been strengthened by time and oppression. Patriotism is a sentiment natural to the Poles; it exists even among members of the great families. The Emperor will fulfil, unconditionally, the promise he made, in Art. 25. of the treaty of the 9th of July, 1807, to govern the Grand Duchy by laws calculated to ensure the liberty and privileges of the people, and consistent with the tranquillity of the neighbouring states. Poland shall enjoy *liberty and independence.* As to the choice of her sovereign, that point will be decided by the treaty, which his Majesty will sign with the other powers. His Majesty lays no claim to the throne of Poland, either for himself or any of his family. In the great work of the restoration of Poland, he has only in view the happiness of the Poles, and the tranquillity of Europe. His Majesty authorizes you to make this declaration; and to make it formally, whenever you conceive it may be useful for the interests of France and Poland.

" His Majesty has ordered me to transmit to you

this note, and these instructions, in order that you may make them the subjects of conversation with the foreign ministers, who may be at Warsaw or Dresden.

"The Emperor has ordered notes to be forwarded to the ministers of war and foreign affairs, of the Grand Duchy. Should pecuniary resources be wanted, his Majesty will assist the Polish treasury, by assignments on the extraordinary domains, which he still possesses in Poland and Hanover."

The Emperor indisposed.—Anecdotes of the Interior of the Tuileries.

26th.—I was informed that the Emperor was very unwell, and that he desired I would attend him. I found him in his chamber, with a handkerchief rolled round his head; he was seated in an arm chair, beside a great fire, which he had ordered to be kindled. "What," said he, "is the severest "disorder, the most acute pain, to which hu- "man nature is subject?" I replied, "That the "pain of the present moment always appeared to "be the most severe." "Then it is the tooth- "ache," said he. He had a violent secretion of saliva, and his right cheek was much swelled and inflamed. I was alone in attendance on him, and I alternately warmed a flannel and a napkin, which he kept constantly applied to the part affected, and he said he felt greatly relieved by it. He was

also affected by a severe nervous cough, and occasional yawning and shivering, which denoted approaching fever.

" What a miserable thing is man," said he, " the " smallest fibre in his body, assailed by disease, " is sufficient to derange his whole system! On " the other hand, in spite of all the maladies to " which he is subject, it is sometimes necessary to " employ the executioner to put an end to him. " What a curious machine is this earthly clothing! " And, perhaps, I may be confined in it for thirty " years longer!"

He attributed his toothache to his late drive, as he had felt singularly affected by being out in the open air. " Nature is always the best coun- " sellor," said he; " I went out in spite of my " inclination, and only in obedience to reason."

The Doctor arrived, and he found that his patient manifested symptoms of fever. The Emperor spent the remainder of the day in his chamber, occasionally suffering severely from the toothache. At intervals, when the pain abated, he walked up and down, between his arm chair and the sofa, and conversed on different subjects.

At one time, he alluded to the base conduct of some of the individuals who had been about him, during his power. A family, who were established in the interior of the palace, who had been loaded with benefits, and who, it may be added, behaved most disgracefully at the period of the catastrophe,

were one day detected in some offence or other by the Emperor himself. He merely reproached them with their misconduct, instead of punishing them for it. "But what was the consequence," said he, "this only served to irritate them, without affording a just example. When things are done by halves, they will always prove ineffectual. The fault must not be seen; or if seen, it must be punished," &c.

He next mentioned a woman, who, together with her husband, held a very lucrative situation, and who was constantly complaining to him of her poverty. "She often wrote to me," said the Emperor, "to ask for money, as though she had claims upon me; just as Madame Bertrand or any of you might do, on your return from St. Helena."

Alluding to an individual who had behaved very ill to him in 1814, he said; "Probably you will suppose he fled on my return? But no such thing; on the contrary, I was beset by him. He very coolly acknowledged, that he had felt a transient attachment for the Bourbons, for which, however, he assured me, he had been heartily punished. But this, he said, had served only to revive the natural affection which all so justly entertained for me. I spurned him from me; and I have good reason to believe, that he is now at the feet of the Royal family, relating all sorts of

" horrors about me. . . . . Man is always and " every where alike !"

Finally, he mentioned a most infamous intrigue, which was set on foot by persons on whom he had lavished favours. These individuals endeavoured to prevail on the Empress Josephine, to sign a most degrading letter, under pretence of securing her a tranquil residence in France, but doubtless with the real purpose of gaining credit to themselves in another quarter. The letter which was to have been addressed to the King, contained a disavowal of all that she had formerly been, and what she still was, together with a request that the King would provide for her as he pleased, &c. The Empress wept, and resisted the importunity, asked for time, and consulted the Emperor Alexander, who told her that such a letter would utterly disgrace her. He advised her to dismiss the meddling intriguers by whom she was surrounded; assured her that there was no intention of removing her from France, or disturbing her quiet in any way; and promised to be responsible for her himself in case of necessity.

In the evening, the Emperor felt better, and he enjoyed a little sleep. His countenance bore evident marks of the severe pain he had suffered.

The Emperor continues indisposed.—Immorality the worst Fault in a Sovereign.

27th.—The Emperor passed the whole day beside the fire, sometimes reclining on his couch, and sometimes sitting in his arm chair. He still suffered very much from the pain in his head and tooth-ache, and the secretion of saliva had not diminished. He again had recourse to warm flannel and napkins, by the use of which, he had yesterday experienced a little relief. I warmed them, and applied them in the same manner as before. The Emperor appeared very sensible to the attentions I shewed him, and several times laying his hand on my shoulder, he said, "My "dear Las Cases, you relieve me very much!" The pain subsided, and he slept for a short time; then raising his eyes, he said to me, "Have I "been long asleep? Are you not very much "fatigued?" He called me his *frère hospitalier, the knight of Malta of St. Helena.* But the pain soon returned with violence, and he sent for the Doctor, who found him feverish. He was seized with the chilliness which had attacked him on the preceding day, and which obliged him to keep close to the fire.

He continued in the same state throughout the whole of the evening. About seven o'clock, he proposed going to bed. He would not eat any-

thing; but he ordered his valet de chambre, to toast some bread, and he himself made a little toast and water, in which he put some sugar and orange flowers.

In the course of the evening's conversation, the following remarks fell from the Emperor. "Immorality," said he, "is beyond a doubt, the "worst of all faults in a sovereign; because he "introduces it as a fashion among his subjects, by "whom it is practised for the sake of pleasing "him. It strengthens every vice, blights every "virtue, and infects all society like a pestilence; "in short, it is a nation's scourge. Public mo-"rality, on the contrary, added he, is the natural "complement of the laws: it is a whole code in "itself." He declared that the revolution, in spite of all its horrors, had nevertheless been the true cause of the regeneration of morals in France, "as the noblest vegetation is the offspring of the "filthiest manure." He did not hesitate to affirm, that his government would mark the memorable epoch of the return to morality. "We advanced at full sail," said he; "but, doubtless, the catas-"trophes which have ensued, will in a great mea-"sure turn all back; for amidst so many vicissi-"tudes and disorders, it is difficult to resist the "various temptations that arise, the allurements "of intrigue and cupidity, and the suggestions of "venality. However, the rising impulse of im-"provement may be impeded and repressed, but

" not destroyed. Public morality belongs espe-
" cially to the dominion of reason and information,
" of which it is the natural result; and reason and
" information cannot again retrograde. The scan-
" dalous turpitude of former ages, the adultery
" and libertinism of the Regency, and the profligacy
" of the reign which succeeded it, cannot again be
" revived, unless the circumstances under which
" they existed should again return; and that is im-
" possible. Before such a change can take place,
" the upper classes of society must again degenerate
" to a state of absolute idleness, so as to have no
" other occupation than licentiousness; the spirit
" of industry which now animates and elevates the
" minds of people in the middle ranks, must be
" destroyed; and finally, the lower classes must
" replunge into that state of subjection and degra-
" dation which once reduced them to the level of
" mere beasts of burden. Now, all this is henceforth
" impossible: public morals are, therefore, on the
" rise; and it may be safely predicted, that they
" will gradually improve all over the world."

About nine o'clock, after the Emperor had retired to bed, he desired that all his suite might come to his apartment. The Grand Marshal and his lady were among the number. The Emperor conversed with us for half an hour; the curtains being drawn round his bed.

The Emperor still unwell.—Want of Medicines.—Servan's Guerres d'Italie.—Madame de Montesson.

28th.—When I arose in the morning I felt ill, and wished to bathe my feet; but no water could be procured for that purpose. I mention this circumstance to afford an idea, if possible, of our real situation at Longwood. Water has always been very scarce here; but there is now less than ever, and we consider ourselves singularly fortunate when we are able to procure a bath for the Emperor. We are no better provided with other things necessary in medical treatment. Yesterday, the Doctor was mentioning in the Emperor's presence, drugs, instruments and remedies of various kinds; but, as he enumerated each article, he added; "Unfortunately, there is none to be pro- "cured on the Island."—"Then," said the Emperor, "when they sent us here, they took it for granted "that we should be always well?" Indeed we are in want of the veriest trifles and necessaries. As a substitute for a warming pan, the Emperor has been obliged to have holes bored in one of the large silver dishes, used for keeping the meat warm at table, which is now filled with coals, and used for the purpose of warming his bed. For some time past, he has very much felt the want of spirits of wine, by means of which, he might have been enabled to warm his drink.

The Emperor has continued unwell the whole of the day: his face is still very much swelled, but the pain has somewhat abated. On entering his chamber, I found him sitting by the fire, reading the *Guerres d'Italie*, by Servan. The work suggested to him, the idea of some additions to our valuable chapters on Italy. He ordered the map to be brought to him. I was very much surprised to find, that the author, in descending to our own times, and narrating the campaigns of the Emperor himself, was exceedingly imperfect in his descriptions, and seemed to be unacquainted with the country about which he wrote. "This," said the Emperor, "is because he passed on, without ob-"serving; and, perhaps he would not have been "capable of understanding, even had he observed. "But the true spririt of great enterprises and great "results, consists in the art of divining even with-"out seeing."

The Emperor found himself obliged to retire to bed, as early as he did yesterday. He felt chilly, and seemed to be threatened with another attack of fever; he also felt symptoms of cramp. A little soup was the only nourishment he had taken since yesterday. He complained that his bed was badly made, and that every thing seemed to go wrong; the bed clothes were not arranged as he wished, and he ordered them to be spread out differently. He remarked that all who surrounded him, had calculated on his preserving

his health, and that they would certainly be very inexperienced and awkward, should he happen to be attacked with a serious fit of illness.

He ordered some tea to be made of orange tree leaves, for which he had to wait a considerable time. During the delay, he evinced a degree of patience, of which I should certainly have been incapable.

He conversed, when in bed, of the early years of his life which he spent at Brienne, of the Duke of Orleans, and Madame de Montesson, whom he recollected having seen. He spoke also of the families of Nogent and Brienne, who were connected with the circumstances of his youth.

"When I was raised to the head of the government," said Napoleon, "Madame de Montesson "applied to me for permission to take the title of "Duchess of Orleans, which appeared to me an "extremely ridiculous request." The Emperor had supposed she was only the mistress of the prince; but I assured him, that she had really been married to the Duke, with the consent of Louis XVI., and that after the death of her husband, she always signed herself the Duchess Dowager of Orleans. The Emperor said he had been ignorant of that circumstance. "But, at all events," said he, "what "had the First Consul to do with the business? "This was always my answer to the persons "interested in the case, who were, however, not "much satisfied with me. But was it to be

" expected that I should adopt, immediately, all " the irregularities and absurdities of the old " school?"

The Emperor still indisposed.—Characteristic Circumstances.

29th.—My son was ill, and I was myself by no means well, being still troubled with restlessness during the night. The Doctor came to see us. He informed me, that the Emperor was better; but that he did wrong in refusing to take medicine.

The Emperor did not send for me until five o'clock. He still complained of a violent pain in his head. He had his feet in water, and he experienced a little relief from this kind of half bath. He lay down on the sofa, and took up the Memoires of Noailles, from which he read aloud several passages, concerning the Duke de Vendome, the siege of Lille, and some others concerning the Duke of Berwick; all of which he accompanied by remarks in his own style,—novel, original, and striking. I very much regret that I am unable to record them here; but, as I had not made a fair copy of these latter sheets of my journal, when the manuscript was seized, I have now only the assistance of memoranda, frequently referring to circumstances which time has obliterated from my recollection.

The Emperor, observing on his drawers some confectionary, or sweetmeats, which had been ac-

cidentally left there, he desired me to bring them to him; and seeing that I hesitated, and felt embarrassed, as to how I should present them, he said, "Take them in your hand; there is no need of "ceremony or form between us now; we must "henceforth be messmates." Though this is a trifling circumstance, yet, to some, it will develope, more forcibly than volumes of description, the real turn of mind, character, and disposition, of the extraordinary individual to whom it relates; for men of judgment and observation will perceive, and draw conclusions, when others would not even form an idea. This consideration has induced me to insert in these volumes many things which I had originally intended to reject, through the fear that they might be thought insignificant, or, at all events, useless.

I have already mentioned, that in his moments of good humoured familiarity, the Emperor was accustomed to salute me with all sorts of titles, such as "Good morning, *Monseigneur;* How is *your Excellency?*" &c. One evening, when I was about to enter the drawing-room, the usher opened the door for me, and, at the same moment, the door of the Emperor's apartment also opened, and he came out. We both met together; and, in a fit of abstraction, he stopped me, and seizing me by the ear, said, playfully, "Well; where is *your* "*Majesty* going?" But the words had no sooner been uttered, than he immediately let go my ear,

and, assuming a grave expression of countenance, he began to talk to me on some serious topic. I had, it is true, learned to close my ears when it was necessary; but the Emperor was evidently sorry for having suffered the expression, *your Majesty*, to escape him. He seemed to think, that though other titles might be used in jest, yet the case was very different with the one he had just employed; both on account of its own peculiar nature, and the circumstances in which we were placed. Be this as it may, the reader may form what conjecture he pleases; I merely relate the fact.

After dinner, the Emperor received all his suite in his chamber. He was in bed; and he began to talk of the little faith he placed in the virtue of medicine. He observed, that he used to support his opinions, on this subject, with such strong arguments, that Corvisart, and other celebrated physicians, could but feebly refute him, and seemed to oppose him merely for the sake of maintaining the honour of the profession.

The Emperor's fifth Day of Confinement.—Anecdote of an unpaid Bill.—On Unpopularity.

30th.—The Emperor was no better to-day; and his periodical attack of fever returned at the usual hour. He was troubled with pimples on his lips and in his mouth, together with a sore throat, so that he felt pain in speaking, and even in swallowing. When the Doctor came in the even-

ing, he brought with him a gargle for the Emperor's throat; but it was with difficulty we prevailed on him to use it. There is no oil to be procured, fit for the Emperor's use—it is execrable; and he is very fastidious.

In the course of conversation to-day, the Emperor, in alluding to the extravagance and debts of Josephine, mentioned, that he himself, though the most regular man in the world, with respect to money matters, once got into an unpleasant predicament at St. Cloud. "I was riding in my calash," said he, "along with the Empress, when, amidst "an immense crowd of people, I was accosted, "in the Eastern style, as a Sultan might be ad- "dressed on his way to the mosque, by one of "my tradesmen, who demanded a considerable "sum of money, the payment of which had been, "for a long time, withheld from him. The "man's demand was just," remarked Napoleon, "and yet I was not to blame. I had paid the mo- "ney at the proper time: the intermediate agent "was solely in fault."

At another time, when alluding to the unpopularity of which, he said, he had latterly been the object, I expressed my surprise that he had not endeavoured to countermine the libels that were published against him, and to recover popular favour. To this he replied, with an air of inspiration: "I had higher objects in view, than to con- "cern myself about flattering and courting a

" petty multitude ; a few insignificant coteries and " sects. I should have returned victorious from " Moscow, and then, not only these people, but " all France, and all the world, would have ad- " mired and blessed me. I might then have " withdrawn myself mysteriously from the world, " and popular credulity would have revived the " fable of Romulus ; it would have been said, that " I had been carried up to heaven, to take my " place among the gods !"

About seven o'clock, the Emperor, finding himself very weak, retired to bed. When our dinner was ended, he received us all in his chamber, as he did yesterday ; his bed curtains being drawn. After a little desultory conversation, he took a fancy to have Robinson Crusoe read to him. Each of the gentlemen read a portion by turns, I alone being exempt, on account of my bad eyes. After an hour or two spent in this way, the Emperor took leave of us all, except the youngest of the party (General Gourgaud), whom he detained for the purpose of reading and conversing with him a little longer.

The Emperor violates the Doctor's Orders.—The Name of the Great Nation first applied to France by Napoleon.

31st.—Fair weather had now returned : the day was delightful. The Emperor had kept his chamber for six days ; and tired of the monotony of the scene, he determined to disobey the Doctor's or-

ders. He went out; but he felt himself so extremely weak that he was scarce able to walk. He ordered the calash, and we took a drive. He was silent and low spirited, and suffered considerable pain, particularly from the soreness of his mouth.

Shortly after his return, he desired me to attend him in his chamber. He felt very weak and drowsy. I prevailed on him to eat a little; and he also took a glass of wine, which, he said, somewhat revived him, and he found himself better. He then entered into conversation.

"As soon as I set foot in Italy," said he, "I "wrought a change in the manners, sentiments, "and language, of our Revolution. I did not "shoot the emigrants; I protected the priests, "and abolished those institutions and festivals "which were calculated to disgrace us. In so "doing, I was not guided by caprice; but by "reason and equity: those two bases of superior "policy. For example," continued he, addressing himself to an individual present, "if the anni-"versary of the King's death had always been "celebrated, you would never have had an oppor-"tunity for rallying."

The Emperor remarked that he, himself, was the first who applied to France the name of the *Great Nation.* "And certainly," said he, "she "justified the distinction in the eyes of the pros-"trate world." Then, after a short pause, he

added: "And she will yet deserve and retain that "proud title, if her national character should "again rise to a level with her physical advan- "tages, and her moral resources."

On another occasion, speaking of a person, to whom he was much attached, he said, "His cha- "racter resembles that of the *cow;* gentle and "placid in all things, except where his children "are concerned. If any one meddle with them, "his horns are immediately thrust forward, and "he may be roused to a pitch of fury."

Speaking of another individual, who had passed his thirtieth year, and whom he happened to say was too young, he observed, "And yet, at that "age, I had made all my conquests, and I ruled the "world. I had laid the revolutionary storm, amal- "gamated hostile parties, rallied a nation, esta- "blished a government and an empire; in short, I "wanted only the title of Emperor. I have, it must "be confessed," added he, "been the spoiled child "of fortune. From my first entrance into life, I "was accustomed to exercise command; and "circumstances, and the force of my own charac- "ter, were such, that as soon as I became pos- "sessed of power, I acknowledged no master, "and obeyed no laws, except those of my own "creating."

The Emperor becomes extremely feeble.—His Health declines visibly.—The Doctor expresses alarm.—French Prisoners in England, &c.

Friday, November 1st.—To-day, the weather being very fine, the Emperor went out about two o'clock. After walking a little in the garden, he felt fatigued, and called at Madame Bertrand's to rest himself. He sat there, upwards of an hour, in an arm chair, without saying a word, and apparently suffering much from pain and weakness. He then returned, languidly, to his chamber, where he threw himself on his sofa, and fell into a slumber, as he did on the preceding day. I was very much distressed to observe the state of extreme debility to which he was reduced. He endeavoured to overcome his drowsiness; but he could neither converse nor read. I withdrew, in order that he might take a little rest.

An English frigate arrived from the Cape, on her way to Europe. This circumstance has afforded us an opportunity of writing to our friends. I have, however, denied myself the happiness of doing so; for the repeated complaints of the Governor, together with the consequences with which I was threatened, amount to an absolute prohibition of all correspondence with Europe. Perhaps a more favourable moment may arrive. At all events, I must be patient.

Doctor O'Meara called to see my son, who continued in a very precarious state. He was again bled yesterday, and fainted three or four times in the course of the day.

The Doctor took the opportunity of speaking to me on the subject of the Emperor's health, and he assured me that he was by no means free of alarm as to the consequences of his confinement. He said, he was continually urging the necessity of exercise; and he begged that I would endeavour to prevail on the Emperor to go out more frequently. It was obvious that an alarming change had taken place in him. The Doctor did not hesitate to affirm, that such complete confinement, after a life of activity, would be attended with the worst consequences; for, that any serious disorder, produced by the nature of the climate, or any accident to which he might be exposed, would infallibly prove fatal to him. These words, and the tone of anxiety in which they were uttered, deeply affected me. From that moment, I observed the sincere interest which the Doctor felt for Napoleon, and of which he has since afforded so many proofs.

The Emperor sent for me about six o'clock. He was taking a bath; and he appeared to be worse than when I had last seen him: this he attributed to going out yesterday. He, however, experienced some benefit from the bath; and he took up Lord Macartney's Embassy to China,

which he continued reading for some time, making various observations as he proceeded.

When he laid aside the book, he began to converse; and the situation of the French prisoners in England, was one of the subjects that happened to come under discussion. I will here put together some remarks on this subject that fell from the Emperor on the present and other occasions.

The sudden rupture of the treaty of Amiens, on such false pretences, and with so much bad faith on the part of the English Ministry, greatly irritated the First Consul, who conceived that he had been trifled with. The seizure of several French merchant ships, even before war had been declared, roused his indignation to the utmost. "To my "urgent remonstrances," said the Emperor, "they "coolly replied, that it was a practice they had "always observed; and here they spoke truth. But "the time was gone by when France could tamely "submit to such injustice and humiliation. I had "become the defender of her rights and glory, and "I was resolved to let our enemies know with "whom they had to deal. Unfortunately, owing "to the reciprocal situation of the two countries, "I could only avenge one act of violence by ano-"ther still greater. It was a painful thing, to be "compelled to make reprisals on innocent men; "but I had no alternative.

"On reading the ironical and insolent reply that "was returned to my complaints, I, that very

" night, issued an order for arresting, in every " part of France, and in every territory occupied " by the French, all Englishmen, of every rank " whatever, and detaining them as prisoners, by " way of reprisal for the unjust seizure of our " ships. Most of these English were men of rank " and fortune, who were travelling for their plea- " sure; but the more extraordinary the measure, " the greater the injustice, the better it suited my " purpose. A general outcry was raised. The " English appealed to me; but I referred them to " their own government, on whose conduct alone " their fate depended. Several of these individuals " proposed raising a subscription to pay for the " ships that had been seized, in the hope of there- " by obtaining permission to return home. I, " however, informed them that I did not want " money; but merely to obtain justice and redress " for an injury. Could it have been believed, that " the English Government, as crafty and tenacious " with respect to its maritime rights, as the Court " of Rome is in its religious pretensions, suffered a " numerous and distinguished class of Englishmen " to be unjustly detained for ten years, rather than " authentically renounce for the future an odious " system of maritime plunder.

" When I was first raised to the head of the " consular government, I had had a misunder- " standing with the English Cabinet, on the sub- " ject of prisoners of war; but I now carried my

" point. The Directory had been weak enough to " agree to an arrangement extremely injurious to " France, and entirely to the advantage of Eng- " land.

" The English maintained their prisoners in " France, and we had to maintain ours in England. " We had but few English prisoners; and the " French prisoners in England were exceedingly " numerous: provisions were to be had almost for " nothing in France; and they were exorbitantly " dear in England. Thus the English had very " trifling expenses to defray; while we, on the " other hand, had to send enormous sums into a " foreign country; and that at a time when we " could but ill afford it. This arrangement, more- " over, required an exchange of agents between " the respective countries; and the English Com- " missioner proved to be neither more nor less " than a spy on the French Government; he was " the go-between and contriver of the plots that " were hatched in the interior of France, by the " emigrants abroad. No sooner was I made ac- " quainted with this state of things, than I erased " the abuse by a stroke of the pen. The English " Government was informed that, thenceforward, " each country must maintain the prisoners it " should make, unless an exchange were agreed " upon. A terrible outcry was raised, and a threat " was held out that the French prisoners should " be suffered to die of starvation. I doubted not

" that the English Ministers were sufficiently ob-
" stinate and inhuman to wish to put this threat
" into execution; but I knew that any cruelty,
" exercised towards the prisoners, would be repug-
" nant to the feelings of the nation. The English
" Government yielded the point. The situation of
" our unfortunate prisoners was, indeed, neither
" better nor worse than it had previously been;
" but, in other respects, we gained great advan-
" tages, and got rid of an arrangement, which
" placed us under a sort of yoke and tribute.

"During the whole of the war, I incessantly
" made proposals for an exchange of prisoners:
" but to this, the English Government, under some
" pretence or other, constantly refused to accede,
" on the supposition that it would be advantageous
" to me. I have nothing to say against this. In
" war, policy must take place of feeling; but why
" exercise unnecessary cruelty? And this is what
" the English Ministers unquestionably did, when
" they found the number of prisoners increasing.
" Then commenced, for our unfortunate country-
" men, the odious system of confinement in hulks;
" a species of torture, which the ancients would
" have added to the horrors of the infernal regions,
" had their imaginations been capable of conceiv-
" ing it. I readily admit there might be exagge-
" ration on the part of the accusers; but was the
" truth spoken by those who defended themselves?
' We know what kind of thing a report to Parlia-

" ment is. We can form a correct idea of it, when
" we read the calumnies and falsehoods that are
" uttered in Parliament, with such cool effrontery,
" by the base men who have blushed not to become
" our executioners. Confinement on board hulks,
" is a thing that needs no explanation: the fact
" speaks for itself. When it is considered that
" men, unaccustomed to live on shipboard, were
" crowded together in little unwholesome cabins,
" too small to afford them room to move; that, by
" way of indulgence, they were permitted, twice
" during the twenty-four hours, to breathe pestilen-
" tial exhalations at ebb tide; and that this misery
" was prolonged for the space of ten or twelve
" years;—the blood curdles at such an odious pic-
" ture of inhumanity! On this point, I blame
" myself for not having made reprisals. It would
" have been well had I thrown into similar confine-
" ment, not the poor sailors and soldiers, whose
" complaints would never have been attended to,
" but all the English nobility, and persons of for-
" tune, who were then in France. I should have
" permitted them to maintain free correspondence
" with their friends and families, and their com-
" plaints would soon have assailed the ears of the
" English Ministers, and checked their odious
" measures. Certain parties in Paris, who were
" ever the best allies of the enemy, would, of
" course, have called me a tiger, and a cannibal;
" but no matter, I should have discharged my duty

" to the French people, who had made me their " protector and defender. In this instance, my " decision of character failed me."

The Emperor asked me whether the French prisoners had been confined in hulks at the time when I was in England. I could not positively inform him ; but I replied, that I did not think they were, because I knew there were prisons for them in various parts of the country, where many of the English visited them, and purchased the productions of their industry. I added, that they were, in all probability, but ill provided for, and exposed to many hardships ; for a story used to be told of a government agent having visited one of the prisons on horseback, and no sooner had he alighted from his horse, and turned his back, than the poor animal was seized, cut to pieces, and devoured by the prisoners. I did not, of course, vouch for the fact; but the story was related by the English themselves, and the ignorant and prejudiced class did not regard it as a proof of the extreme misery to which the prisoners must have been reduced, but merely as an example of their terrible voracity. The Emperor laughed, and said he considered the anecdote to be a mere fabrication ; observing, that if the fact were to be relied on, it was calculated to make human nature shudder ; for, that nothing but hunger, urged to madness, could drive men to such a dreadful extremity. I was the more inclined to believe that the plan of confinement on

board the hulks had not been introduced when I was in England, because I recollected that a great deal had been said about establishing the French prisoners in some small islands between England and Ireland. It was proposed to convey them thither, and to leave them to themselves, in a state of complete seclusion; and a few light vessels were to be kept constantly cruising about to guard them. To this plan it was, however, objected, that, in case of a descent on the part of the enemy, his grand object would be to land on these islands, distribute arms among the prisoners, and thus recruit an army immediately. Perhaps, added I, this idea might have led to the use of hulks; for the prisoners were rapidly increasing in numbers, and it was not thought safe to keep them on shore among the people, as the latter betrayed a strong disposition to fraternize with the French. "Well," said Napoleon, "I can very readily conceive that "there might be good grounds for rejecting the "plan you have just mentioned. Safety and self-"preservation before all things. But the confine-"ment in the hulks, is a stain on the English "character for humanity; an irritating sting, that "will never be removed from the hearts of the "French prisoners."

"On the subject of prisoners of war," continued Napoleon, "the English Ministers invariably "acted with their habitual bad faith, and with "the machiavelism that distinguishes the school

" of the present day. Being absolutely deter-
" mined to avoid an exchange, which they did
" not wish to incur the blame of having refused,
" they invented and multiplied pretences beyond
" calculation. In the first place, that I should
" presume to regard as prisoners, persons merely
" detained, was affirmed to be an atrocious vio-
" lation of the laws of civilized nations, and a
" principle which the English Government would
" never avow, on any consideration whatever.
" It happened that some of the individuals de-
" tained, who were at large on parole, escaped,
" and were received triumphantly in England.
" On the other hand, some Frenchmen effected
" their escape to France. I expressed my dis-
" approbation of their conduct, and proposed,
" that the individuals of either country, who had
" thus broken their parole, should be mutually
" sent back again. But I received for answer, that
" persons detained, were not to be accounted pri-
" soners; that they had merely availed themselves
" of the lawful privilege of escaping oppression;
" that they had done right; and had been received
" accordingly. After this, I thought myself justi-
" fied in inducing the French to escape; and the
" English Ministers filled their journals with the
" most insolent abuse, declaring me to be a man,
" who scrupled not to violate moral principle, faith,
" or law.

" When, at length, they determined to treat for

" an exchange of prisoners, or, perhaps, I ought
" rather to say, when they took it into their heads
" to trifle with me on this point, they sent a com-
" missioner to France. All the great difficulties
" were waived; and with a fine parade of senti-
" ment, conditions were proposed for the sake of
" humanity, &c. They consented to include per-
" sons detained, in the list of prisoners, and to
" admit, under that head, the Hanoverian troops,
" who were my prisoners, but who were at large
" on parole. This latter point had been a stand-
" ing obstacle; because, it was insinuated, the
" Hanoverians were not English. Thus far mat-
" ters had proceeded smoothly, and there was
" every probability of their being brought to a
" conclusion. But I knew whom I had to deal
" with; and I guessed the intentions that were
" really entertained. There were infinitely more
" French prisoners in England, than English pri-
" soners in France; and I was well aware, that the
" English being once safely landed at home, some
" pretence would be found for breaking off the ex-
" change, and the rest of my poor Frenchmen
" might have remained on board the hulks to all
" eternity. I declared that I would accede to
" no partial exchange; that I would be satisfied
" only with a full and complete one; and, to
" facilitate matters, I made the following pro-
" posal. I admitted that there were fewer Eng-
" lish prisoners in France, than French prisoners

" in England; but, I observed, that there were " among my prisoners, Spaniards, Portuguese, " and other allies of the English, who had been " taken under their banners, and fighting in the " same cause. With this addition, I could on " my part produce a far more considerable num- " ber of prisoners than there were in England. I " therefore offered to surrender up all, in return " for all. This proposition, at first, occasioned " some embarrassment; it was discussed and re- " jected. However, as soon as they had devised " a scheme, by which they thought they could " secure the object they had in view, they acceded " to my proposition. But I kept a watchful eye " on them; I knew that if we began by merely " exchanging Frenchmen for Englishmen, as soon " as the latter should be secured, pretences would " be found for breaking off the business, and the " old evasions would be resumed; for the English " prisoners in France did not amount to one third " of the French in England. To obviate any mis- " understanding on either side, I therefore pro- " posed that we should exchange by transports of " only three thousand at a time; that three thousand " Frenchmen should be returned to me, and that " I would send back one thousand English, and " two thousand Hanoverians, Spaniards, Portu- " guese, and others. Thus, if any misunderstand- " ing arose and put a stop to the exchange, we " should still stand in the same relative proportions

" as before, and without having practised any de-
" ception upon each other: but if, on the contrary,
" the affair should proceed uninterruptedly to a
" conclusion, I promised to surrender up, gra-
" tuitously, all the prisoners that might ultimately
" remain in my hands. My conjectures respect-
" ing the real designs of the English Government
" proved to be correct: these conditions which
" were really so reasonable, and the principle of
" which had already been adopted, were rejected,
" and the whole business was broken off. Whe-
" ther the English Ministers really sympathized
" in the situation of their countrymen, or whether
" they were convinced of my firm determination
" not to be duped, I know not; but it would ap-
" pear, that they were at length inclined to come
" to a conclusion, when I subsequently introduced
" the subject by an indirect channel. However,
" our disasters in Russia at once revived their
" hopes, and defeated my intentions."

The Emperor next remarked upon the treatment of prisoners of war in France, which, he said, was as generous and liberal as it possibly could be; and he thought that, on this subject, no nation could justly convey a reproach to us. " We have," said he, " in our favour the testimony and the sen-
" timents of the prisoners themselves; for, with
" the exception of those who were ardently at-
" tached to their local laws, or, in other words, to
" notions of liberty (and these were exclusively the

" English and Spaniards), all the rest, namely, the " Austrians, Prussians, and Russians, were willing " to remain with us: they left us with regret, and " returned to us with pleasure. This disposition " on the part of the Spaniards and English, has " oftener than once influenced the obstinacy of " their efforts, or their resistance."

The Emperor also made the following observation:—" It was my intention to have introduced " into Europe, a change with respect to the treat- " ment of prisoners. I intended to enrol them " in regiments, and to make them labour under " military discipline, at public works and monu- " ments. They should have received whatever " money they earned, and would thus have been " secured against the misery of absolute idleness, " and the disorders arising out of it. They would " have been well fed and clothed, and would have " wanted for nothing, without being a burden on " the state. All parties would have been bene- " fited by this plan. But my idea did not meet the " approval of the Council of State, which, in this " instance, was swayed by the mistaken philan- " thropy that leads to so many errors in the world. " It was said, that it would be unjust and cruel to " compel men to labour. It was feared lest our " enemies should make reprisals; and it was affirm- " ed, that a prisoner was sufficiently unfortunate " in the loss of his liberty, without being placed " under restraint as to the employment of his time.

" But here was the abuse of which I complained,
" and which I wished to correct. A prisoner, said I,
" must and should expect to be placed under law-
" ful constraint; and that which I would impose on
" him, is for his own advantage, as well as that of
" others. I do not require, that he should be sub-
" ject to greater misery or fatigue, but to less dan-
" ger than he is exposed to in his present con-
" dition. You are afraid lest the enemy should
" make reprisals, and treat French prisoners in
" the same manner. Heaven grant it should be
" so! I wish for nothing better! I should then
" behold my sailors and soldiers occupied in whole-
" some labour, in the fields or the public roads,
" instead of seeing them burried alive on board
" those odious hulks. They would return home
" healthy, industrious, and inured to labour; and
" in every country they would leave behind them
" some compensation for the fatal ravages of war.
" By way of concession, the Council of State agreed
" to the organization of a few corps of prisoners
" as voluntary labourers, or something of the sort;
" but this was by no means the fulfilment of the
" scheme I had in view."

Napoleon's Designs with regard to Antwerp.—His refusal to surrender that City one of the Causes of his Fall.—His generous Sentiments in Rejecting the Treaty of Chatillon.—Maritime Works.—Official Report of the State of the Empire in 1813.—*Total Amount of Expenditure in Public Works, during the Reign of Napoleon.*

2d.—The Emperor did not leave his chamber to-day. When I waited on him, I found him very unwell from the effects of cold; and the secretion of saliva still continued. I remained with him the greater part of the day. He sometimes endeavoured to converse, and sometimes tried to sleep. He was very restless, and often drew near the fire. He was evidently feverish.

In course of the day, the conversation turned upon Antwerp; its arsenal, its fortifications, its importance, and the great military and political views he entertained with respect to that favourably situated place.

He remarked that he had done much for Antwerp, but that this was little in comparison with what he had proposed to do. He intended to have rendered it a fatal point of attack to the enemy by sea, and by land to have made it a certain resource, and a point of national security in case of great disasters. He would have rendered Antwerp capable of receiving a whole army in its defeat, and holding out against a close siege for the space of a year, during which time, he said, a nation would be

enabled to rally in a mass for its deliverance, and to resume the offensive. Five or six places of this kind were, he added, to constitute the new system of defence, which he intended to have established. The works which had been completed in so short a time at Antwerp, the numerous dock-yards, magazines, and canals, were already the subject of admiration; but all this the Emperor declared to be nothing. Antwerp was as yet, he said, merely a commercial town; the military town was to be constructed on the opposite bank of the river. For this purpose, ground had been purchased at a low rate, and it was to have been sold again at a high profit for the purpose of building; so that by this speculation, the expenses attending the enterprise would have been considerably diminished. The winter docks would have been capable of admitting three-deck ships with all their guns on board; and covered dry docks were to have been constructed for laying up vessels in time of peace.

The Emperor remarked, that the scheme he had formed, would have rendered Antwerp a stupendous and colossean bulwark; and that it would have been a whole province in itself. Adverting to this superb establishment, he observed, that it had been one of the causes of his exile to St. Helena; that the demand for the cession of Antwerp, was one of the circumstances that led him to reject the conditions of peace proposed at Chatillon. If the Allies had agreed to leave

him in possession of Antwerp, he would in all probability have concluded peace; and he questioned whether he had not done wrong, in refusing to sign the proposed ultimatum. "At "that period," said he, "I had doubtless many "resources and chances; but yet, how much may "be said in favour of the resolution I adopted. I "did right," added he, "in refusing to sign the "ultimatum, and I fully explained my reasons for "that refusal; therefore, even here, on this rock, "amidst all my misery, I have nothing to repent "of. I am aware, that few will understand me; "but, in spite of the fatal turn of events, even the "common mass of mankind must now be con-"vinced that duty and honour left me no other "alternative. If the Allies had thus far succeeded "in degrading me, would they have stopped there? "Were their offers of peace and reconciliation "sincere? I knew them too well, to put faith in "their professions. Would they not have availed "themselves of the immense advantages afforded "them by the treaty, to finish by intrigue what "they had commenced by force of arms? Then "where would have been the safety, independence, "and future welfare of France? Where would "have been my honour, my vows? Would not "the Allies have ruined me in the estimation of "the people, as effectually as they ruined me on "the field of battle? They would have found "public opinion too ready to receive the impres-

" sion which it would have been their aim to give " to it! How would France have reproached me, " for suffering foreigners to parcel out the territory " that had been intrusted to my care? How many " faults would have been attributed to me by the " unjust, and the unfortunate? Could the French " people, full of the recollections of their glory, " have patiently endured the burdens that would " inevitably have been imposed on them? Hence " would have arisen fresh commotions, anarchy, " and desolation! I preferred risking the last " chances of battle, determining to abdicate in " case of necessity."*

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* These remarks of Napoleon are confirmed by the following:—

Letter from M. de Caulincourt, to the Editor of the Constitutionnel. (*Inserted in that Journal on the 21st of January* 1820.)

" Sir,—A work by M. Koch, entitled " *Campagne de* 1814," contains several fragments of letters written by me to the Emperor, and to the Prince of Neufchâtel, during the sitting of the Congress at Chatillon.

" I think it incumbent on me to declare, that this correspondence has been obtained and published without my knowledge. The high sources whence the author affirms he has derived his materials, confers a degree of historical importance on his work; and therefore, in so far as I am concerned, I cannot allow myself to sanction, by my silence, the errors it contains. Most of the details relative to the negociations which took place subsequently to the 31st of March, are incorrect.

" With regard to the Congress of Chatillon, if events have

I acknowledged the justice of the Emperor's observations. He had lost the throne, it is true, but voluntarily; and, because he preferred to renounce it, rather than compromise our welfare

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justified the desire I entertained for the establishment of peace, it would be wrong to withhold from France and history, the motives of national interest and honour which prevented the Emperor from subscribing to the conditions which foreigners wished to impose on us.

" I therefore fulfil the first of duties, that of acting justly and candidly, in developing these motives, by the following extract from the Emperor's orders to me.

Paris, January 19, 1814.

" . . . . . The point on which the Emperor most urgently " insists, is the necessity of France retaining her natural limits: " this is my *sine qua non*. All the powers of Europe, even Eng- " land, acknowledged these limits at Frankfort. France, if " reduced to her old limits, would not now possess two thirds of " the relative power which she had twenty years ago. The ter- " ritory she has acquired in the direction of the Rhine, does not " balance what Russia, Prussia, and Austria, have acquired " merely by the dismemberment of Poland: all these states " have increased in magnitude. To restore France to her old " limits, would be to humble and degrade her. France, with- " out the departments of the Rhine, without Belgium, Ostend, " and Antwerp, would be nothing. The plan of limiting France " to her old frontiers, is inseparable from the restoration of the " Bourbons; for they alone can offer a guarantee for the main- " tenance of such a system. England knows this; with any " other government, peace on such a basis would be impossible, " and could not endure. Neither the Emperor nor the Republic " (should revolution again restore it), would ever subscribe to " such a condition. As far as regards his Majesty, his determi- " nation is irrevocably fixed: he will not leave France less

and his own honour. History will appreciate this sublime sacrifice. Power and life are transitory; but glory endures, and is immortal.

"But, after all," said the Emperor, "the his-
"torian will, perhaps, find it difficult to do me
"justice, for the world is so overwhelmed with
"libels and falsehoods; my actions have been so
"misrepresented, my character so darkened and
"misunderstood." To this, some one present replied, that doubt could exist only during his life; that injustice would be confined solely to his contemporaries; that, as he had himself already remarked, the clouds would disperse in proportion as his memory advanced in posterity; that his character would rise daily and become the noblest subject for the pen of history; and that, though the first catastrophe might have

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"than he found her. Should the allies wish to alter the bases
"that have been proposed and accepted,—namely, that France
"should preserve her natural limits, the Emperor finds only
"three courses open to him: to fight and conquer; to fight
"and perish gloriously; or, finally, if the nation should not
"support him, to abdicate. The Emperor attaches but little
"importance to sovereignty; he will never purchase it by de-
"gradation."

"I hope, Sir, that your impartiality will induce you to grant this letter a place in your Journal, and I take this opportunity of presenting to you assurances of my respect," &c.

(Signed) "CAULINCOURT,
Duke of Vicenza."

proved fatal to his memory, owing to the outcry that was then raised against him, yet, the prodigies of his return, the acts of his brief government, and his exile to St. Helena, now left him crowned with glory in the eyes of nations and posterity. "That, is very true," replied the Em- "peror, with an air of satisfaction, "and my "fate may be said to be the very opposite of "others. A fall, usually has the effect of lowering "a man's character; but, on the contrary, my fall "has elevated me prodigiously. Every succeed- "ing day divests me of some portion of my *tyrant's* "*skin*."

After a few moments of silence, the conversation was again resumed, on the subject of Antwerp and the English expedition. "The English Go- "vernment, and its General," said the Empe- "ror, seemed to vie with each other in want of "skill. If Lord Chatham, to whom our soldiers "gave the nick name of *My Lord J'attends*, had "resolved to make an energetic movement, he "might, doubtless, have destroyed our valuable "establishment, by a *coup de main;* but the first "moment being lost, and our fleet returned, the "place was secure. There was a great deal of "exaggeration respecting the efforts and measures "taken for the safety of Antwerp. The zeal of "the citizens was excited only for secret and "criminal designs."

On mentioning some facts, of which I had been

a witness, I happened to observe, that it was generally marshals who reviewed armies; but that here the rule had been reversed, and armies reviewed their marshals; three of whom had succeeded each other in a very short time. "Political circumstances," said the Emperor, "called for this change. I sent Bessieres to Antwerp, because the crisis demanded a firm and confidential man; but as soon as the critical period was expired, I sent another to succeed Bessieres, because I wished to have the latter near me."

The maritime works of Antwerp, notwithstanding their immense extent, are but a small portion of those which were executed by Napoleon. Having been attached, as a member of the Council of State, to the department of the marine, I possess, *ex officio*, an account of these works, a list of which I will here insert, in geographical order, proceeding from south to north.

1. Fort Boyard, constructed for the purpose of enlarging and defending the anchorage of the Isle of Aix, whence, by dint of perseverance and intrepidity, a passage had been discovered out of sight of the enemy, between Oleron and the mainland, by which even vessels of the line could reach the anchoring grounds of the Gironde and its outlets.

2. The extensive and superb works of Cherbourg. The dike, which was commenced under Louis XVI. and which had suffered considerable injury during the Revolution, was repaired; the

central part being elevated nine feet above the highest level of the sea, and along an extent of 100 toises, for the purpose of mounting a battery of twenty guns of the largest calibre. This work was executed in less than two years, from 1802 to 1804, and with such success, that though it has been neglected since 1813, it has suffered no decay, and still retains all its original strength.

A large elliptical tower of granite, was built in the centre, and within the dike, which it supports, and by which, it is, in its turn, covered. The huge foundation of this work, which, being constructed in the open sea, of course presented enormous difficulties, was completed at the end of 1812, and raised to the height of six feet above the level of the highest tides. The solidity which it has preserved since that period, though in a state of neglect, and exposed to the violent action of the waves, is a manifest proof of the strength of the defensive works that were projected on this artificial rock, when the time should arrive for the full completion of the plan. This plan consisted in raising at the height of one story, a barrack, capable of containing the garrison, a powder magazine, reservoir, &c.; this was to be surmounted by an arched platform, bomb proof, and capable of receiving a casemated battery of nineteen thirty-six pounders, and above this, was to be a second platform, capable of receiving mounted guns, if necessary; the whole crowning the central battery, already exist-

ing on the dike itself. Thus the enemy's attack would have been resisted by four ranges of batteries, one above another.

In less than eight years, a military post was formed by digging into the live rock. It was capable of containing forty-five ships of the line, a proportional number of frigates, three slips for building, &c. This asylum, so necessary for ships of the line, owing to the natural situation of the roads of Cherbourg, which are too much exposed to the violence of the waves, was dug thirty feet beneath the level of the sea, at the lowest neap tide, in order to afford, at all times, a secure station for the largest ships. When it was opened in 1813, the moles and dikes were fully completed along its whole extent. At that time, the Empress Maria Louisa and all her court, witnessed the magnificent and sublime spectacle of the sudden irruption of the sea, which was admitted, simply by the spontaneous rupture of the immense dam that had hitherto repelled its efforts. The largest vessels immediately entered the enclosure, which has since afforded a convenient station for shipping, together with the requisite accommodations for building, repairing, and fitting out: in short, it possesses every advantage that might be expected in so important a creation of art, and is justly considered to be one of the noblest monuments of Napoleon's reign. According to the Emperor's plan, this stupendous work was intended only as a first or out-

ward port; he had determined on constructing, in a lateral direction, at a little distance beyond it, a second or inward port, which was to be commenced immediately, and which would have been speedily completed, owing to the precautions that were previously adopted. It was to be large enough to receive twenty-five ships of the line, and behind these two ports, and extending along their whole length, in a semicircular form, there were to be built thirty covered docks, where an equal number of sail of the line might be kept in constant readiness to put to sea. Such were the immense works executed or planned at Cherbourg alone.

3. The numerous works occasioned by raising the flotilla for the invasion of England.—It was necessary to provide anchorages, to render the preparations simultaneous, and to execute every offensive and defensive operation. All this required, at various points, the construction of forts in stone and wood work, quays, basins, jetées, dams, sluices, &c.

Boulogne was chosen as the central point of assemblage; and Vimereux, Ambleteuse, and Etaples, were the secondary points. Boulogne itself was rendered capable of receiving 2,000 ships of different kinds. Besides its natural port, an artificial basin was formed, by means of a dam, closed in the middle by a sluice, twenty-four feet wide. This basin was capable of containing 8 or

900 ships afloat, and in a constant state of readiness; and the sluice, by its power of resistance, had the advantage, when closed, of producing runs of water, which increased the depth of the natural port, and freed its entrance from the obstruction of sand banks. Vimereux, Etaples, and Ambleteuse, were simultaneously rendered capable of receiving a proportional number of ships: all these undertakings were completed in the space of two years.

4. Important local repairs and improvements in all the ports of the coast.—Havre was rendered accessible to frigates, by destroying, by means of a strong sluice, the gravel bank that obstructed its entrance. Improvements were made at St. Valery, Dieppe, Calais, Gravelines, and Dunkirk; the port of the latter was cleared, and the marsh that covered the town was drained. A second flotilla was to be assembled at Ostend, to which a free entrance had been effected by clearing its canal.

5. The works of Flushing.—This town having momentarily fallen into the hands of the English, they destroyed all its military establishments when they evacuated it. The Emperor ordered the reconstruction of the works on a much more extensive scale than before. Fully appreciating the important geographical situation of the place, he ordered the basin to be re-dug and enlarged, as well as its entrance. The canal was also to be deepened, so that the basin might be rendered ca-

pable of admitting even vessels of eighty tons, and affording a winter station for a squadron of twenty ships, always ready to put to sea in one or two tides. This advantage was to be procured by means of a very ingenious plan, suggested by the naval Commandant of the place, and which consisted simply in confining the water, at high tide, in the ditches of the town. The basin was a most important acquisition, as it afforded the means of making naval preparations, free of all the inconveniences of the Scheldt. Our ships would have been enabled to sail directly to the coasts of England; and the English would thus have been compelled to keep cruisers constantly on the watch; whereas, hitherto, as soon as they knew that our ships were disarmed in Flushing, or returned to Antwerp, on the approach of winter, they tranquilly went into port, having nothing to apprehend until the return of spring. But it was necessary to render the fortifications of Flushing equal to the protection of a whole squadron: consequently, defensive works were multiplied on various points; magazines and other establishments were reconstructed; and orders were issued for rendering them bomb proof, and surmounting them with batteries. Flushing would have been thickly planted with cannon on all points, and would, in short, have been rendered impregnable.

6. Works commenced at Terneuse.—The importance of the western mouth of the Scheldt, for

enabling our fleet to sail in and out, and the inconveniences attending the return of our ships to Antwerp, every year during the winter season, suggested to the Emperor the idea of establishing a still greater arsenal than Flushing, near the mouth of the river. Terneuse, on the left bank of the Scheldt, three leagues from the mouth of the river, was the point fixed on, and the works were immediately commenced. They were, however, suspended, on account of the great length of time, as well as the enormous expense, that would have been requisite for their completion.

7. The immense works at Antwerp.—This town, which is nearly twenty leagues distant from the sea, from which it is separated by a winding road, seemed to be divested of every desirable advantage for the formation of a maritime arsenal; and it had hitherto presented only petty commercial establishments. A fleet raised at Antwerp would, with difficulty, have been able to descend the river, and would have been but ill defended against the inclemencies of the weather, or the attempts of the enemy. It would have been useless during one third of the year; for the approach of winter forced the ships to come higher up, to avoid the current and ice of the river; there being no floating basins. But these numerous difficulties seemed as nothing in the eyes of Napoleon. In his impatience to make the English feel the dangers of the Scheldt, which they had themselves so frequently acknow-

ledged to be formidable, he speedily concerted his plans, and in less than eight years Antwerp assumed the aspect of an important maritime arsenal, and a considerable fleet was already riding in the Scheldt. Every thing was done thoroughly and completely. Magazines, quays, dock-yards, &c. were newly constructed. A provisional asylum was assigned for the shipping in the Rupel, while two great floating basins were dug in the town of Antwerp, capable of receiving vessels of every size, with all their guns on board. Twenty slips for building, were raised all on a line, as if by enchantment, and twenty vessels, lying in these slips at once, presented to the traveller, arriving by the Tête de Flandres, the imposing and singular spectacle of twenty vessels of the line, ranged as a squadron. Most of these works, however, Napoleon regarded merely as a provision momentarily borrowed from commerce. He intended to establish a complete and much larger arsenal facing Antwerp, on the bank of the river, opposite to the Tête de Flandres. He at first conceived the bold design of throwing a bridge across the Scheldt; but he at length determined in favour of flying-bridges, of a very ingenious construction. The Emperor, as I have already observed, had formed the grandest ideas respecting the improvements at Antwerp, and the details of his plan extended as far as the sea. He used to say, that he intended to make Antwerp a province, a little kingdom, in itself. To

this object he devoted himself with that degree of interest which he might be expected to evince in the execution of one of his most favourite projects. He made several journeys to Antwerp, for the purpose of personally inspecting the works in their most trivial details.

On one of these occasions, he happened to fall in with a Captain or Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers, who was modestly assisting in the fortifications of the place, and with whom he entered into the discussion of certain points connected with the business in which he was engaged. Shortly after, the officer unexpectedly received a letter, informing him, that he was appointed Aide-de-camp to the Emperor, and directing him to repair to the Tuileries to enter upon his duties. The poor officer was filled with astonishment: he thought he was dreaming, or, that the letter had been misdirected. He was so extremely diffident, and possessed so little knowledge of the world, that this announcement of his promotion threw him into great perplexity. He recollected having once seen me at Antwerp, and he begged I would render him my assistance. Accordingly, on his arrival in Paris, he came and assured me of his total ignorance of court manners, and the embarrassment he felt in presenting himself to the Emperor. However, I soon succeeded in encouraging him; and before he reached the gate of the palace, he had mustered a tolerable degree of confidence. This officer was

General Bernard, whose great talents were brought into notice by this circumstance, and who, at the time of our disasters, proceeded to America, where he was placed at the head of the military works of the United States.

Napoleon loved to take people thus by surprise. Whenever he discovered talent, he never failed to raise it to its proper sphere, without suffering himself to be swayed by any secondary considerations. This was one of his striking characteristics.

8. The works in Holland.—No sooner had Holland fallen into the hands of Napoleon, than his creative ardour was immediately directed to all the different branches of her political economy. He repaired and enlarged the arsenals of the Meuse, Rotterdam, and Helvoetsluys. Hitherto ships of the line could not reach Amsterdam, and could only be conveyed thence by dint of vast expense and labour; it being necessary to convey them on buoys, unladen and without their guns, to the opening of the Zuyderzee. This operation did not suit the rapidity necessary in the great enterprises of the period; and the Emperor determined to remove the northern arsenal to a situation in which it would be exempt from these disadvantages. He accordingly gave orders for the establishment or improvement of the Nieyendip, where, in a short time, twenty-five ships of the line were provided with a safe winter station, and laid up beside magnificent quays. This im-

portant point was defended by the military establishments of the Helder, which formed the key of Holland. Napoleon's plan was to make the Nievendip the Antwerp of the Zuyderzee.

9. Works of the Weser, the Embs and the Elbe.—When Napoleon joined Bremen, Hamburgh, and Lubeck, to the Empire, his plans and works extended with his dominion. He took measures for rendering the Elbe accessible to ships of the line, and projected a maritime arsenal at Delfzyl at the mouth of the Embs. But the object which particularly engrossed the attention of Napoleon, was the cutting of a line of canals, which, with the help of the Embs, the Weser, and the Elbe, would have effected a junction between Holland and the Baltic. We should thus have been enabled to communicate safely, and by a simple system of inland navigation, from Bordeaux and the Mediterranean, with the powers of the North. We should easily have obtained from them all kinds of naval productions for our ports, and we should have been able to send out against them when we chose, our flotillas from the Channel, Holland, &c.

All these important works were planned, and most of them executed, with amazing rapidity. The creative genius of Napoleon conceived them, and the minister Decres indefatigably prosecuted the designs that were suggested. The plans were drawn, and the works executed by Prosny, Sganzin,

Cachin, and others. The names attached to such monuments, are imperishable!

If, to what has here been described, be added other simultaneous prodigies in every other branch of the public service, and in every other part of the territory; and if it be considered that all were executed amidst perpetual war, and without more, perhaps, even with less burdens, than now, after a long peace, weigh on the countries that composed the vast French Empire, it is impossible to repress astonishment and admiration. All these miracles were effected by steadiness of determination, talent armed with power, and finances wisely and economically applied! Certainly, if in addition to what has already been mentioned, the mass of fortifications, the multitude of public roads, bridges, canals, and edifices of various kinds be taken into account, it must be acknowledged, that no sovereign in the world ever did so much in so short a time, and by imposing so few burdens on his people.

Italy, of which Napoleon was king, also enjoyed her share of his magnificent improvements. He cut fine roads across the Alps and the Apennines; established a maritime arsenal at Genoa; fortified Corfu, so as to make that island the key of Greece; repaired and enlarged the port of Venice; and, while the works were proceeding, it was rendered capable of admitting French ships of the line, by means of the floating buoys used in Holland.

To obviate the risk of the ship being attacked by the enemy, during this hazardous conveyance, a plan was proposed by which they were to be enabled to carry their own guns; and it was, I believe, successfully adopted. Napoleon, moreover, intended to establish a naval arsenal at Ragusa, another at Pola, in Istria, and a third at Ancona. He conceived the happy and bold idea of forming a junction between the gulfs of Venice and Genoa, by the help of the Po, and a canal extending from Alessandria to Savona, through the Apennine. This plan would have been attended with the most important results; for, independently of its immense commercial and military advantages, it would have established a direct and safe communication between Venice and Toulou; and the latter port would thus have received all the naval productions of the Adriatic, free from any chance of their being attacked by the enemy. Finally, Napoleon cleared Rome of the rubbish with which she was encumbered, restored many ancient vestiges of the Romans, and formed the design of draining the Pontine marshes, &c.

I here subjoin the preamble of the report on the state of the Empire, presented to the Legislative Body, in the sitting of the 25th of February, 1813, by Count Montalivet, Minister of the Interior. This superb report, which is founded in all its points on authentic documents, is calculated to afford a just idea of the wonders of Napoleon's

government. I think I may properly close the present subject, by inserting an official statement of the expenses in public works, during the memorable reign of the Emperor.

"GENTLEMEN,—His Majesty has directed me to make you acquainted with the situations of the Interior of the Empire, during the years 1811 and 1812.

"You will have the satisfaction to observe, that notwithstanding the great armies which a state of war, both maritime and continental, has rendered indispensably necessary, the population has continued to increase; that French industry has made new progress; that the soil was never better cultivated, or our manufactures more flourishing; and that at no period of our history, has wealth been more equally diffused among all classes of society.

"The farmer now enjoys benefits to which he was formerly a stranger. He is enabled to purchase land at the highest price; his food and clothing are better, and more abundant than before; and his dwelling is more substantial and convenient.

"Improvements in agriculture, manufactures, and the useful arts, are no longer rejected merely because they are new. Experiments are made in every branch of labour, and the methods that prove to be most advantageous, are substituted for old ones. Artificial meadows are multiplied; the system of fallow lands is abandoned; routines are bet-

ter understood, and improved plans of cultivation augment the produce of the soil. Cattle are multiplied, and the different breeds improved. Even the poor labourer finds means to purchase, at a high price, Spanish rams and stallions of the finest breed. They are now sufficiently enlightened to know their real interests, and they do not scruple to make these valuable purchases. Thus the demands of our manufacturers, our agriculturists, and our armies, are every day better supplied.

"This high degree of prosperity is to be attributed to the liberal laws by which this great Empire is ruled, to the suppression of feudalism, tithes, mortmains, and monastic orders; measures which have created or set at liberty numerous private estates, which are now the free patrimony of a multitude of families, formerly mere paupers. It is also to be ascribed to the more equal division of wealth, to the clearness and simplification of the laws relative to landed property and mortgages, and to the promptitude observed in the decision of lawsuits, which are now daily decreasing in number. To these same causes, and to the influence of vaccination, must be attributed the increase of the population. It may even be said, that the conscription, which annually enrols under our banner the flower of the French youth, has had some share in contributing to this increase, by multiplying the number of marriages; because marriage fixes for ever the fate of the

young Frenchman, who has once served in obedience to the law."

Official statement of the expenditure in public works, from Napoleon's accession to the imperial throne; presented, together with the vouchers, to the Legislative Body, by the Minister of the Interior.

	Francs.
Imperial palaces and buildings, belonging to the crown	62,000,000
Fortifications	144,000,000
Sea Ports	117,000,000
Roads, highways, &c.	277,000,000
Bridges in Paris and the departments	31,000,000
Canals, navigation and draining	123,000,000
Works in Paris	102,000,000
Public buildings of the departments and great towns	149,000,000
Total	1,005,000,000

The Emperor indisposed and melancholy.—Amusing Anecdotes.—Two Aides-de-camp.—Mallet's Plot.

3d.—The Emperor still continued to seclude himself like a hermit. Towards evening he sent for me:—he informed me that he was somewhat relieved of his toothache, though he was not better in other respects. He said he felt extremely weak and depressed in spirits, and that during the whole day, his mind had been possessed with gloomy ideas. He was taking the bath, and after a few moments silence, he said, as if making an effort to rouse himself, "Come, *my Dinarzade*, if you are not too

" drowsy, tell me one of your stories. It is long " since you have told me any thing about your " friends of the Faubourg St. Germain."—" Sire," I replied, " I have related so much on that subject, " that I fancy I have exhausted my whole stock of " tales, whether true or false. Only the scandalous " stories now remain untold, and in these your " Majesty knows, that you yourself were never " spared. However, a droll anecdote just now " occurs to me. One day, M. de T. . . . . on " leaving home to attend to his ministerial duties, " informed his wife that he should bring back " M. Denon with him to dinner. He wished the dis- " tinguished traveller to be treated with the utmost " attention ; and he told Madame de T. . . . . " that the best thing she could do, would be to look " over his work, so that she might be enabled to " pay some handsome compliments to the author; " at the same time informing her in what par- " ticular part of the library the book was to be " found. Madame de T. . . . . set about her " task: she found the book exceedingly interesting, " and was delighted at the thought of speedily " being introduced to the hero. No sooner were " the company seated at table, than she informed " M. Denon, whom she had taken care to place " beside her, that she had been reading his work, " and that she had been very much pleased with " it. M. Denon bowed, and the lady proceeded " to remark on the singular countries he had

" visited, and the hardships he had endured, at the " same time taking pains to assure him how deeply " she sympathized in his troubles. M. Denon " bowed again; and all went on very smoothly " until Madame de T. . . . . still addressing " herself to M. Denon, declared how very much de- " lighted she had been when he found his *man* " *Friday*, and made him the companion of his " solitude. On hearing this, M. Denon started, " and turning to the person who sat on his other " hand, he said: Is it possible she takes me for " Robinson Crusoe? The fact is, or I should more " properly say, as the story goes, poor Madame " de T. . . . . had been reading the Adventures " of Robinson Crusoe, instead of Denon's Travels " in Egypt." The Emperor laughed heartily, and afterwards several times related the anecdote himself.

The conversation turned on the inventive malignity of Parisian society, and the fine story that was got up about the cabinet-maker, who awkwardly discovered to B . . . . . the concealed drawer of a bureau, which happened to contain many secrets connected with his own family: the violent anger of B . . . . . against *Ventre de Biche*, the sympathy expressed for him by Madame de V . . . . . , and the singular consolation she afforded him,—all were described. The Emperor was much amused by these details, most of which were new to him, and he expressed his

belief that the story was not entirely an invention. He once more repeated his censure of the saloons of Paris, which, he said, might truly be styled the infernal regions. He observed, that they kept up a constant system of slander and calumny, and that, therefore, they might with justice have engaged the constant attention of all the tribunals of correctional police in the capital.

The Emperor had now become animated, and he conversed for a considerable time. He happened to mention an officer whom, he said, he had not treated very well; and I ventured to observe that I believed he had, notwithstanding, been Aide-de-camp to a distinguished General. "What signi-"fies that?" resumed the Emperor. "Don't you "know," continued he, smiling, "that a general "frequently has two aides-de-camp; one for the "field, and one for the household?"

He said a great deal respecting the national inaptitude of the French to close a revolution, or to adhere to any fixed order of things; and he alluded to the celebrated affair of Mallet, which he jokingly said might be called a miniature or a caricature of his own return from the Isle of Elba. "Mallet's "absurd plot," said he, "might have been truly "regarded as a hoax. A prisoner of state, an "obscure individual, effected his own liberation, "and, in his turn, imprisoned the Prefect, and "even the Minister of Police, those keepers of "dungeons, and detectors of plots, who suffered

" themselves to be caught in the snare like so
" many sheep. A Prefect of Paris, the born spon-
" sor of his department, and moreover a very
" devoted subject, readily lent himself to every
" plan for assembling a government that had no
" existence. Ministers, appointed by the con-
" spirators, were engaged in making their round
" of visits, when those who nominated them,
" were again safely lodged in prison. Finally, the
" inhabitants of the capital learned, in the morn-
" ing, the sort of political debauch that had taken
" place during the night, without having been in
" the least disturbed by it. Such an extravagant
" attempt," said the Emperor, " could never have
" produced any result. Even had it succeeded, it
" must have fallen, of itself, in the space of a few
" hours; and the victorious conspirators would
" have thought only of escaping from amidst their
" success. I was, therefore, far less incensed
" at the attempt of the criminal, than at the
" facility with which those, who appeared most
" attached to me, had been prevailed on to be-
" come his accomplices. On my arrival, each
" candidly related to me the details that concerned
" himself, and which served to criminate all! They
" frankly avowed that they had been caught, and
" had, for a moment, placed full faith in my over-
" throw. They did not deny that in the delirium
" of the moment, they had entered into the designs
" of the conspirators; and they rejoiced with me at

" their happy escape. Not one of them mentioned
" the slightest resistance, or the least effort made
" to defend and perpetuate the existing govern-
" ment. This seemed never to have entered their
" heads : so accustomed were they to changes and
" revolutions, that all were perfectly resigned to
" the establishment of a new order of things. All
" therefore changed countenance, and manifested
" the utmost embarrassment; when, in a resolute
" tone of voice, I said, 'Well, Gentlemen, it appears
" you thought my reign at an end; to that I have
" nothing to say. But where were your oaths to
" the King of Rome? What became of your prin-
" ciples and doctrines? You make me tremble
" for the future.' I found it necessary to make an
" example, were it only for the sake of putting
" weak men on their guard for the future; and
" judgment fell upon poor Frochot, the Prefect of
" Police, who, I am sure, loved me well. Yet, at
" the mere request of one of these mountebank
" conspirators, instead of the resistance which his
" duty required; instead of manifesting a firm de-
" termination to perish at his post rather than
" yield; he very contentedly issued orders for pre-
" paring a place for the sitting of the new govern-
" ment!—Indeed," said the Emperor, " the readi-
" ness with which the French people accommodate
" themselves to change, is calculated to prolong
" vicissitudes, which no other nation but them-
" selves could endure. Thus, individuals of every

" party seem to be well convinced, that all is not
" yet settled; and Europe shares this opinion,
" which is founded no less on our natural incon-
" stancy and volatility, than on the mass of events
" that have risen up during the last thirty years."

The Emperor's continued Indisposition and Confinement.—He observes that he ought to have died at Moscow or Waterloo.—Eulogium on his Family.

4th.—To-day, the Emperor would not receive any one during the whole of the morning. He sent for me at the hour he had appointed for taking the bath, during which, and for some time after, he conversed on the knowledge of the ancients, the historians by which it has been transmitted to modern times, the connecting links formed by different writers, &c. His reflections on this subject, all led to the conclusion, that the world was yet in its infancy, and human nature still more so. We then took a view of the structure of the globe, the irregularities of its surface, the unequal division of sea and land, the amount of its population, the scale by which that population was dispersed, the different political societies into which it was formed, &c. I calculated that Europe contained 170,000,000 of inhabitants. The Emperor remarked that he himself had governed 80,000,000; and, I added, that after the alliance with Prussia, he had marched at the head of more than 100,000,000. The Emperor then suddenly changed

the conversation. He asked for my atlas, and while he looked over it, he several times remarked that it was a truly invaluable work for youth.

Afterwards, when speaking of the wonders of his life, and the vicissitudes of his fortune, the Emperor remarked that he ought to have died at Moscow; because, at that time, his military glory had experienced no reverse; and his political career was unexampled in the history of the world. He then drew one of those rapid and animating pictures, which he sketches off with so much facility, and which frequently rise to a degree of sublimity. Observing that the countenance of one of the individuals, who happened to be present, was not exactly expressive of approbation, he said, "This is "not your opinion? You do not think I ought to "have closed my career at Moscow?" "No, "Sire," was the reply; "for in that case, history "would have been deprived of the return from "Elba, of the most generous and most heroic "act that ever man performed; of the grandest "and most sublime event that the world ever "witnessed." "Well," returned the Emperor, "there may be some truth in that; but what say "you to Waterloo? Ought I not to have perished "there?"—"Sire," said the person whom he addressed, "if I have obtained pardon for Moscow, "I do not see why I should not ask it for Waterloo also. The future is beyond the will and the "power of man; it is in the hands of God alone."

At another time, the Emperor spoke of the different members of his family, the little assistance he had received from them, the many embarrassments they had occasioned him, &c. He particularly alluded to the mistaken notion they had conceived, that being once placed at the head of a people, they should become identified with them, so as to prefer their interests to those of the common country. This idea, he said, might have originated in honourable feeling; but it was most erroneous and mischievous in its application. In their mistaken notions of independence, the members of his family sometimes seemed to consider their power as detached, forgetting that they were merely parts of a great whole, whose views and interests they should have aided instead of opposed. "But, after all," continued he, "they were very young and inexperienced, "and were surrounded by snares, flatterers, and "intriguers, with secret and evil designs." Then, passing suddenly from their faults to their good qualities, he added, "And yet, if we judge from "analogy, what family, in similar circumstances, "would have acted better? Every one is not "qualified to be a statesman: that requires a com- "bination of powers that does not often fall to the "lot of one. In this respect, all my brothers "were singularly situated; they possessed at once "too much and too little talent. They felt them- "selves too strong to resign themselves blindly to

" a guiding counsellor, and yet too weak to be left " entirely to themselves. But take them all in all, " I have certainly good reason to be proud of my " family.

" Joseph would have been an ornament to so- " ciety in any country; and Lucien would have " been an honour to any political assembly. " Jerome, as he advanced in life, would have de- " veloped every qualification requisite in a sove- " reign. Louis would have been distinguished in " any rank or condition of life. My sister Eliza " was endowed with masculine powers of mind: " she must have proved herself a philosopher in " her adverse fortune. Pauline, perhaps the most " beautiful woman of her age, has been, and will " continue to the end of her life, the most amiable " creature in the world. As to my mother, she " deserves all kind of veneration. How seldom " is so numerous a family entitled to so much " praise! Add to this, that, setting aside the jar- " ring of political opinions, we sincerely loved each " other. For my part, I never ceased to cherish fra- " ternal affection for them all; and I am convinced " that in their hearts they felt the same sentiments " towards me, and that, in case of need, they would " have given me every proof of it."

After dinner, the Emperor received all his suite, and we remained with him for upwards of an hour. He was in bed; but he conversed with facility, and was evidently better. We took leave of him with

the hope of soon seeing him recovered. We remarked that he had not dined with us for the space of twelve days; and that without him our lives, our hours, our moments were deranged and devoid of interest.

Geography the Passion of the Moment.—State Bed arrived from London.—The Emperor calls it a Rat-Trap.—Anecdotes related by the English.—Letters from St. Helena, &c.

5th.—The Emperor continued confined to his room. He sent for me, as he had done for several days past, at the hour appointed for taking his bath. He was somewhat relieved of the soreness in his mouth; but he was still occasionally troubled with toothache. He resumed the conversation of the preceding day, on the structure of the globe, &c. for the Emperor now evinced an absolute passion for geography. He took my map of the world, and remarked on the irregular distribution of land and sea. He paused for a time on the continent of Asia; and from the vast Pacific Ocean passed to the more contracted limits of the Atlantic. He started many questions relative to the variable and the trade winds, the monsoons of the Indian Ocean, the calm of the Pacific, the hurricanes of the Antilles, &c.; and he found at the respective places, on the map, the physical and speculative solutions which science furnishes on these subjects. This pleased him exceedingly, and he continued his

perusal of the map, making remarks as he went over it: "Tables," said he, "are of the highest use "in assisting the mind to draw comparisons: they "awaken and excite ideas. You have fallen on an "excellent plan, in thus making your tables of "history and geography embrace all the remark- "able circumstances and phenomena connected "with these sciences."

The Emperor wished to refer to some of the oldest books of travels; and the works of the monk Rubrugius, and the Italian Marco Polo were brought to him. He glanced over them, and remarked that they contained no information, and possessed no other merit than their old age.

On leaving the bath he proceeded to his bed-chamber, to see the grand bed that had been sent to him from London, and which had just been put up. It was surmounted by a sort of canopy, supported on four large posts, so high that it was found necessary to cut the feet before it could be put up in the Emperor's little bed-chamber, which it almost filled. Besides, it had, from some cause or other, a very disagreeable smell, and was altogether so bulky and unsteady, that it suggested the idea of a tottering castle. The Emperor said it was an absolute rat-trap; but, that he would take care not to be caught in it. He ordered it immediately to be removed; remarking, that he did not wish to be troubled with such lumber. It was accordingly taken down, and the old camp bed was

substituted in its place. The confusion and inconvenience occasioned by these changes put the Emperor very much out of humour.

In course of the day, I had a long conversation with an English seaman, an enthusiastic admirer of the Emperor, who related to me several anecdotes which pleased me the more as they were entirely new to me. But though not generally known, they are not the less true; for some of the facts the narrator had obtained from unquestionable authority, and to others he had himself been a witness. When I afterwards mentioned some of these particulars to the Emperor, he immediately recollected them and acknowledged their correctness. However, my informant assured me, that to his great astonishment, these anecdotes had been but little circulated in England; and that there, as well as in France, whatever reflected honour on Napoleon, or showed his character in an advantageous light, was lost by that fatality to which I have so often alluded: for calumny and falsehood constantly overwhelmed all that was good, beneath the mass of evil that was invented. The following are some of the anecdotes to which I have just now alluded.

"We were treated," said my narrator "in the "best manner possible. At Verdun, the depot of "the English prisoners of war, we enjoyed the "same privileges as the inhabitants. Verdun is a "very pleasant town, and we found provisions and

" wine exceedingly cheap. We were allowed to
" walk several miles beyond the town, without the
" trouble of asking permission; and we could, if
" we pleased, obtain leave to absent ourselves for
" several days at a time. In short, we were so
" well protected against all sorts of vexations, that
" the General under whose command we were
" placed, having been guilty of some irregularities
" in his treatment of us, was ordered to Paris, by
" the special command of Napoleon, and from fear
" of the punishment that awaited him he com-
" mitted suicide. It once happened that we re-
" ceived orders to confine ourselves to our lodgings,
" and we were informed that we should not be
" allowed to quit them for several days; the reason
" assigned for this measure was, that the Emperor
" intended to pass through Verdun, and that it was
" not thought safe to allow him to be surrounded
" by so many of the enemy's prisoners. Besides
" the disappointment of our curiosity (for we very
" much wished to see Napoleon), this order hurt
" us exceedingly. Do they distrust brave English
" seamen? we thought. Is it possible that they
" confound us with assassins? Be this as it would,
" we were doomed to be close prisoners; when, on
" the day of Napoleon's arrival, we were, to our
" surprise, informed that we were again at liberty,
" and that the Emperor very much disapproved of
" the order that had been given for our confine-
" ment. We eagerly thronged to see the Emperor,

" and he passed by us unattended by any escort,
" with an air of perfect security, and even with an
" expression of kindness, which quite delighted us.
" Our acclamations were no less sincere than those
" of the French themselves.

" Napoleon and Maria Louisa returning from
" their journey in Holland, arrived at Gevet on the
" Meuse, where several hundred were at that time
" assembled. A sudden storm arose; there was
" a heavy fall of rain, the river overflowed its
" banks, and the pontoon bridge was broken, and
" rendered impassable. However, the Emperor,
" anxious to continue his journey, and not being
" in the habit of thinking any thing impossible, re-
" solved to cross the river at all hazards. All the
" boatmen in the neighbourhood were collected
" together; but not one would attempt to cross.
" However,' said Napoleon, ' I am determined to
" ' be on the other side of the river before noon.'
" He immediately ordered some of the principal
" English prisoners to be brought to him: ' Are
" ' there many of you here?' said he, ' and are
" ' there any sailors among you?' ' There are 500
" ' of us, and we are all seamen,' was the reply.
" ' Well, I want to know whether you think it
" possible to cross the river, and whether you will
" undertake to convey me to the opposite bank.'
" It was acknowledged to be a hazardous attempt,
" but some of our veterans undertook to accomplish
" it. Napoleon got into the boat with a degree of

" confidence that surprised us, and he reached the
" opposite bank in safety. He heartily thanked
" those who had rendered him this act of service,
" and ordered that they should be provided with
" new clothes. To this he added a pecuniary pre-
" sent, and granted them their liberty.

" A young English sailor, seized with an ardent
" longing to return to his country, escaped from a
" depot, and succeeded in making his way to the
" sea coast, in the neighbourhood of Boulogne,
" where he concealed himself in the woods. His
" eager desire to return home suggested to him
" the idea of making a little boat, to enable him to
" reach some of the English cruizers, which he
" spent the greater part of the day in watching,
" from the tops of the trees on the sea shore. He
" was seized just at the moment when he was
" about to put to sea with his little boat, and to
" make a desperate attempt to secure his liberty.
" He was imprisoned on suspicion of being a spy
" or a robber. This circumstance reached the ears
" of Napoleon, who was then at Boulogne, and he
" felt a curiosity to see the boat, of which he heard
" so much. When it was shown to him, he could
" not bring himself to believe that any rational
" being would have ventured to put to sea with it.
" He ordered the sailor to be brought to him, and
" the young man declared that he had really in-
" tended to escape, with the aid of his boat, and the
" only favour he asked, was permission to execute

"his project. 'You appear very eager to return "to England,' said the Emperor; 'Perhaps you "have left a sweetheart behind you?' 'No,' re- "plied the young man, 'but I have a mother, at "home, who is old and infirm, and I am anxious "to return to her.' 'Well, you shall return,' "said Napoleon; and he immediately ordered "that the young man should be provided with new "clothes, and sent on board the first English "cruizer that might appear in sight. He also "directed, that he should be provided with a sum "of money, as a present to his mother, remarking "that she must be a good mother, to have so good "a son."*

Among the many acts of kindness which the Emperor exercised towards the English, who were detained in France, there is one which happened to come within my own knowledge, and of which a Mr. Manning was the object. This gentleman, whom I knew very well in Paris, and who had been induced to travel for the sake of scientific investigation, thought he might obtain his liberty by addressing a petition to Napoleon, praying for

* Since my return to Europe, some Letters from St. Helena have been published, in which the above anecdotes are related, almost word for word. This and other circumstances induced me to make some inquiry respecting the publication; and I am enabled to affirm, that though anonymous, its contents are derived from the most authentic sources, and are entitled to full credit.

permission to visit the interior of Asia. His friends laughed at his simplicity; but he turned the laugh against us when, at the expiration of a few weeks, he triumphantly informed us of the success of his application. I find it mentioned in Dr. O'Meara's work, that this same Mr. Manning, after a peregrination of several years, touched at St. Helena, on his return to Europe, and urgently requested leave to see Napoleon, in order to express his gratitude by laying a few presents at his feet, and answering any inquiries he might make respecting the Grand Lama, whom he had had an opportunity of visiting, through the Emperor's indulgence.

Physical Advantages of Russia.—Her political Power.—Remarks on India.—Pitt and Fox.—Ideas on political Economy.—Companies, or Free Trade.—M. de Suffren.—The Emperor's Remarks on the Navy.

6th.—The Emperor continued in a state of convalescence, and he received some visitors about the middle of the day. I waited upon him, accompanied by Madame de Montholon. He conversed a great deal about the society of Paris, and related several anecdotes of the Tuileries.

In the evening, the Emperor again resumed his geographical observations. He dwelt particularly on Asia; on the situation of Russia, and the facility with which the latter power might make an attempt on India, or even on China, and the alarm which she might, therefore, justly excite in the English.

He calculated the number of troops that Russia might employ, their probable point of departure, the route they would be likely to pursue, and the wealth they would obtain in such an enterprise. On all these subjects he made the most curious and valuable remarks. I very much regret my inability to record them here, for my notes, in this instance, afford me only slight hints, and I cannot trust to the accuracy of my memory in filling up the details.

The Emperor next adverted to the superiority of Russia over the rest of Europe, in regard to the immense powers she might call up, for the purpose of invasion; together with the physical advantages of her situation under the pole, and backed by eternal bulwarks of ice, which, in case of need, would render her inaccessible. Russia, he said, could only be attacked during one third or fourth of the year; while, on the contrary, she might throughout the whole twelve months, maintain attacks upon us: her assailants would encounter the rigours and privations of a frigid climate, and a barren soil, while her troops pouring down upon us would enjoy the fertility and charms of our southern region.

To these physical circumstances, continued the Emperor, may be added the advantage of an immense population, brave, hardy, devoted and passive, including those numerous uncivilized hordes, to whom privation and wandering are the natural state of existence. "Who can avoid shud-

" dering," said he, " at the thought of such a vast " mass, unassailable either on the flanks or in the " rear, descending upon us with impunity; if tri- " umphant, overwhelming every thing in its course; " or if defeated, retiring amidst the cold and de- " solation that may be called its forces of reserve; " and possessing every facility of issuing forth again " at a future opportunity. Is not this the head of the " Hydra, the Antœus of fable, which can only be " subdued by seizing it bodily, and stifling it in " the embrace. But where is the Hercules to be " found? France alone could think of such an " achievement, and it must be confessed we made " but an awkward attempt at it."

The Emperor was of opinion, that in the new political combination of Europe, the fate of that portion of the world depended entirely on the capacity and disposition of a single man. " Should " there arise," said he, " an Emperor of Russia, " valiant, impetuous and intelligent; in a word, " a Czar with a beard on his chin, (this he pro- nounced very emphatically,) Europe is his own. " He may commence his operations on the German " territory, at 100 leagues from the two capitals, " Berlin and Vienna, whose sovereigns are his only " obstacles. He secures the alliance of the one by " force, and with his aid subdues the other, by a " single stroke. He then finds himself in the heart " of Germany, amidst the princes of the second " rank, most of whom are either his relations or

" dependants. In the meanwhile, he may, should " he think it necessary, throw a few firebrands " across the Alps, on the soil of Italy, ripe for ex- " plosion, and he may then march triumphantly to " Paris to proclaim himself the new liberator. I " know if I were in such a situation, I would un- " dertake to reach Calais in a given time, and by " regular marching stations, there to become the " master and arbiter of Europe ....." Then after a few moments' silence, he added, " Perhaps, my dear " Las Cases, you may be tempted to say, as the " minister of Pyrrhus said to his master, ' *And* " *after all, to what purpose?*' My answer is, to " establish a new state of society, and to avert " great misfortunes. This is a blessing which " Europe expects and solicits. The old system is " ended, and the new one is not consolidated, and " will not be so until after long and furious con- " vulsions."

The Emperor was again silent, and after measuring, with his compasses, the distances on the map, he observed, that Constantinople was, from her situation, calculated to be the centre and seat of universal dominion.

He then alluded to the English settlements in India, and asked me, whether I knew any thing of their history. I told him what little I knew on this subject.

Queen Elizabeth created an East India Company by virtue of her royal prerogative.

A century later, the parliament created another. However as these two companies were found to injure each other by their competitions, they were united under one charter.

In 1716, the Company obtained from the sovereigns of India, the famous firman or Indian charter, authorizing them to export or import free of all duty.

In 1741, the Company first commenced military interference in the affairs of India, in opposition to the French Company, who took the adverse side. Since then, the two nations have constantly waged war in that distant land, whenever a contest arose between them in Europe. The French had a short interval of success in the war of 1740, suffered severe defeats in 1755, maintained a footing of equality in 1779, and at length were utterly subdued during the revolutionary war.

The English East India Company now commands the whole peninsula, including a population of more than 60,000,000 of which 20,000,000 are its subjects, 20,000,000 its tributaries or allies, and the rest are involved in its system and obliged to go with it.*

Such is the famous East India Company, which at once acts the part of merchant and sovereign; whose wealth is derived both from commercial

* This was written in 1816, before those events took place in India, by which the subjection of the whole peninsula seems to have been accomplished.

profits, and territorial revenues. Hence it results that the merchant is frequently actuated by the ambition of the sovereign, while the sovereign plans, directs, and executes with the cupidity of the merchant. In these peculiar circumstances, in this two-fold character, we may trace the cause of the progress, measures, conflicts, contradictions, disorders, and clamours, that compose the history of this celebrated Company.

The English East India Company long reigned absolute and independent. It was and still continues to be represented by a Court of Directors, chosen from among the proprietors. These Directors delegate and direct in India, by despatches, a regency or council consisting of a governor and some assessors, who represent and exercise the sovereign authority.

In 1767, the crown for the first time set forward claims on the territory and revenues of India; but the Company purchased its desistance by a subsidy equivalent to ten or twelve millions of francs.

About the year 1773, the East India Company, finding its affairs extremely deranged, made application to Parliament, which took advantage of its embarrassment to secure its dependance. The Company's possessions were subjected to new political, judicial, and financial regulations, which, however, produced no very satisfactory result. The Indian peninsula was thrown into the utmost degree of disorder; and the establishment of a

Supreme Court of Justice, operating as a rival to the Sovereign Council, and appointed for the purpose of introducing English laws in the country, particularly excited the dissatisfaction and alarm of the natives. The fury of parties and their reciprocal accusations and complaints, transmitted to us a picture of the odious measures, the boundless rapacity and atrocious tyranny of this stormy period, which is the least honourable in the history of the East India Company.

In 1783, with the view of providing a radical remedy for these evils, Mr. Fox, who was then prime minister, brought forward his famous bill, the failure of which, occasioned him to quit the ministry. Mr. Pitt, who had been the opponent of this bill, in the following year introduced another, which laid the foundation of his celebrity, and which still continues to regulate the affairs of the East India Company. Fox's bill would, in fact, have been a judicial seizure; it would have placed all the Company's property in the hands of a managing committee, who were to liquidate its debts, and dispose of all employments. The members of this Committee, appointed by the King or by Parliament, were to be irremoveable, and were to sit until they should have established the affairs of the Company on a better footing. A general outcry was raised against these propositions, which, it was said, would place important interests, vast patronage, and enormous influence in the hands of

a few individuals. It was said that the bill was calculated to introduce a fourth power in the state, and to set up a rival to the crown itself. Mr. Fox was even accused of a wish to establish himself permanently in office, by creating a sort of concealed sovereignty, superior to that of the King; for Fox being at this time Minister, and having parliament under his control, he would have appointed and ruled the proposed Committee. Through the influence of this Committee, he would have composed and governed parliament, and with the aid of parliament, he would have established and perpetuated the Committee; in short, there was no end to the power which he would thus have exercised. A violent clamour arose, and the King made the business a personal matter. He appealed to his own friends, to those individuals in the House of Peers who were sincerely attached to him, and regarded the measures proposed as an attack on his very existence. The bill failed, and Fox quitted the ministry.

Pitt was more adroit, and assumed the appearance of greater moderation. In his bill, he merely contented himself with placing the Company under a sort of guardianship; submitting all its operations to a Committee appointed to revise and countersign them. He left to the Company the power of nomination to all employments; but reserved to the crown the appointment of the Governor General, and the veto on all other nominations.

This Committee, which was appointed by the King, formed a new branch in the administration. Complaints were now raised against the vast increase of influence which this measure would afford to the royal authority, and which, it was affirmed, would infallibly break the constitutional equilibrium. Fox had been reproached for having wished to keep this influence wholly apart from the King; and Pitt was accused of having placed it entirely in his hands. All that the one had wished to do for the people, it was said, the other had done for the monarch. Indeed, these two distinct characters, these two opposite evils, constituted the whole difference between the two bills, which produced a decisive battle between the Whigs and Tories. Mr. Pitt gained the victory, and the Tories triumphed.

The faults of Fox's bill still remain hypothetical, since they were never put to the test; but the evils that were predicted from Pitt's measures, have been formally fulfilled. The equilibrium of power has been broken, the true English constitution has ceased to exist, the royal authority daily augmented has encroached in every direction, and is now marching unimpeded on the high road to arbitrary and absolute power.

The Ministers command in Parliament a majority, which they have themselves created, which perpetuates their power and legalizes their arbitrary measures. Thus, English liberty is daily

more and more fettered by the very forms which were intended for its defence; and the future, instead of affording a prospect of remedy, appears to threaten greater misfortunes! How could Fox's plan have produced more fatal results? For it may truly be said, that all the great encroachments that have been made on the English constitution, have been occasioned by the interests of India. Surely the weight which Fox wished to secure to the popular side, could not have been more disastrous to the cause of liberty, then that with which Pitt surcharged the royal prerogative!

Consequently, it is now often boldly asserted, that Fox was in the right, that he was wiser, and could not have been so mischievous as his rival.

The names of Pitt and Fox having been thus introduced, the Emperor dwelt long on the characters, systems, and measures, of those two celebrated statesmen; and concluded with the following remarks, which had already fallen from him on several previous occasions: "Pitt," said he, "was "the master of European policy; he held in his "hand the moral fate of nations; but he made an "ill use of his power. He kindled the fire of dis-"cord throughout the universe; and his name, "like that of Erostratus, will be inscribed in his-"tory, amidst flames, lamentations, and tears! . . . "The first sparks of our revolution, then the re-"sistance that was opposed to the national will, "and, finally, the horrid crimes that ensued, all

" were his work. Twenty-five years of universal " conflagration; the numerous coalitions that " added fuel to the flame; the revolution and de- " vastation of Europe; the bloodshed of nations; " the frightful debt of England, by which all these " horrors were maintained; the pestilential system " of loans, by which the people of Europe are " oppressed; the general discontent that now pre- " vails;—all must be attributed to Pitt. Posterity " will brand him as a scourge; and the man, " so lauded in his own time, will hereafter be " regarded as the genius of evil. Not that I " consider him to have been wilfully atrocious, " or doubt his having entertained the conviction " that he was acting right. But St. Bartholo- " mew had also its conscientious advocates; the " Pope and Cardinals celebrated it by a *te deum;* " and we have no reason to doubt their having " done so in perfect sincerity. Such is the weak- " ness of human reason and judgment! But that " for which posterity will, above all, execrate the " memory of Pitt, is the hateful school that he has " left behind him, its insolent machiavelism, its " profound immorality, its cold egotism, and its " utter disregard of justice and human happiness.

" Whether it be the effect of admiration and " gratitude, or the result of mere instinct and " sympathy, Pitt is, and will continue to be, the " idol of the European aristocracy. There was, in- " deed, a touch of the Sylla in his character. His

" system has kept the popular cause in check, and " brought about the triumph of the patricians. As " to Fox, one must not look for his model among " the ancients. He is himself a model, and his " principles will sooner or later rule the world."

The Emperor said a great deal about Fox, and expressed the great attachment he entertained for him. He had had his bust put up at Malmaison, before he knew him personally. He concluded with a remark, which he used often to make, at different times, and in various ways: " Certainly," said he, " the death of Fox was one of the fatalities " of my career. Had his life been prolonged, " affairs would have taken a totally different turn; " the cause of the people would have triumphed, " and we should have established a new order of " things in Europe."

Returning to the subject of the East India Company, the Emperor observed that the question respecting the comparative advantage of the monopoly of a company, or free trade for all, was an important subject of consideration. " A com- " pany," said he, " places great advantages in the " hands of a few individuals, who may attend very " well to their own interests, while they neglect " those of the mass. Thus every company soon " degenerates into an oligarchy: it is always the " friend of power, to which it is ready to lend every " assistance. In this point of view, companies were " exclusively suited to old times and old systems.

"Free trade, on the contrary, is favourable to the "interests of all classes; it excites the imagina- "tion and rouses the activity of a people; it is "identical with equality, and naturally leads to "independence. In this respect, it is most in "unison with our modern system."

The Emperor then discussed several points of political economy which are treated by Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*. He admitted that they were true in principle; but proved them to be false in application. Unfortunately, the scantiness of my notes here prevents me from entering into particulars.

"Formerly," said he, "only one kind of property "was known, that which consisted in landed pos- "sessions; afterwards, a second kind rose up, that "of industry or manufactures, which is now in op- "position to the first; then arose a third, that which "is derived from the burdens levied on the people, "and which, distributed by the neutral and impar- "tial hands of government, might obviate the "evils of monopoly on the part of the two others, "intervene between them, and prevent them "from coming into actual conflict." This great contest of modern times, he called the war of the *fields* against the *factories*, of the *castles* against the *counting-houses*.

"It is," said he, "because men will not acknow- "ledge this great revolution in property, because "they persist in closing their eyes on these truths,

" that so many acts of folly are now committed,
" and that nations are exposed to so many dis-
" orders. The world has sustained a great shock,
" and it now seeks to return to a settled state.
" The whole cause of the universal agitation, that
" at present prevails, may be explained in a few
" words: the ship's cargo has been shifted, her
" ballast has been removed from the stem to the
" stern; hence are produced those violent oscilla-
" tions which may occasion a wreck in the first
" storm, if obstinate efforts are made to work the
" vessel according to the usual method, and with-
" out obtaining a new balance."

This day has been rich in materials for my journal. Besides the subjects to which I have already alluded, several others were introduced. When speaking of India, and the English East India Company, the name of M. de Suffren was mentioned.

The Emperor had had no opportunity of forming a correct idea of the character of this officer: he had heard of his having rendered important services to his country, and for that reason alone, he (Napoleon) had been very liberal to his family. The Emperor questioned me respecting Suffren. I had not known him personally, and therefore I could only report what I had heard of him from other individuals in the navy. It was admitted that, since the time of Louis XIV., M. de Suffren was the only officer who bore a resem-

blance to the distinguished men of the brilliant period of our navy.

Suffren possessed genius, invention, ardour, ambition, and inflexible steadiness; he was one of those men, whom nature has rendered fit for any thing. I have heard very shrewd and sensible persons say, that his death in the year 1789, might have been looked upon as a national calamity; that had he been admitted to the King's Council in the critical moment, he might have brought matters to a very different result. Suffren, who was harsh, capricious, egotistical, and a very unpleasant messmate, was loved by nobody, though he was valued and admired by all.

He was a man with whom no one could live on good terms. He was impatient of control, fond of condemning every thing, and while he incessantly declaimed against the utility of tactics, he proved himself to be a perfect tactician. In short, he evinced all the irritability and restlessness of genius and ambition deprived of elbowroom.

On obtaining the command of the Indian squadron, he went to take leave of the King, and one of the officers of the palace could with difficulty open a passage for him through the crowd. "I "thank you," said he to the Usher, grunting and snorting in his usual way; "but when I come out "Sir, you shall see that I know how to clear the "way for myself." And he spoke truly.

On his arrival in India, he opened a new theatre

for the arms of France, and performed prodigies, which perhaps have not been duly appreciated in Europe. He set on foot measures and plans of command hitherto unknown: taking every thing upon himself, hazarding all, inventing all, and foreseeing all. He broke and created his officers as he thought proper; fitted out and manned ships that had long since been condemned; and found a wintering station on the spot, when, according to the old routine, the ships would have been obliged to sail to the Isle of France, a distance of twelve or fifteen leagues. Finally, he broke through all rules, approached the coast, took on board troops who had been fighting the old enemy, and after they had assisted him in opposing the English squadron, he conveyed them back to their camp, to resume the contest by land. Thus the French flag assumed a superiority that disconcerted the enemy. "Oh," exclaimed the Emperor, "why did not Suffren live till my time, or why "did not I light on a man of his stamp? I would "have made him our Nelson. I was constantly "seeking for a man qualified to raise the character "of the French navy; but I could never find one. "There is in the navy a peculiarity, a technicality "that impeded all my conceptions. If I proposed "a new idea, immediately Ganthaume, and the "whole Marine Department, were up against me. "—'Sire, that cannot be.'—Why not?—'Sire, "the winds do not admit of it;' then objections

" were started respecting calms and currents, and " I was obliged to stop short. How is it possible " to maintain a discussion with those, whose lan- " guage we do not comprehend? How often, in " the Council of State, have I reproached naval " officers with taking an undue advantage of this " circumstance. To hear them talk, one might " have been led to suppose that it was necessary to " be born in the navy to know any thing about it. " Yet I often told them, that had it been in my " power to have performed a voyage to India with " them, I should, on my return, have been as " familiar with their profession as with the field of " battle. But they could not credit this. They " always repeated, that no man could be a good " sailor unless he were brought up to it from his " cradle; and they at length prevailed on me to " adopt a plan, about which I long hesitated, " namely, the enrolment of several thousands of " children from six to eight years of age.

" My resistance was vain; I was compelled to " yield to the unanimous voice, while I assured " those who urged me to this measure, that I left " all the responsibility with them. What was the " result? It excited clamour and discontent on " the part of the public, who turned the whole " affair into ridicule, styling it the massacre of the " innocents, &c. Subsequently, De Winter, Ver- " huel, all the great naval commanders of the " north, and others, assured me that from eighteen

" to twenty (the age for the conscription), was " early enough to begin to learn the duties of a " sailor. The Danes and Swedes employ their " soldiers in the navy. With the Russians, the " fleet is but a portion of the army; which " affords the invaluable advantage of keeping up " a standing army, and for a twofold object.

" I had myself," added he, " planned something " of the kind, when I created my crews for men of " war; but what obstacles had I to encounter; " what prejudices had I to subdue; what perse- " verance was I obliged to exert, before I could " succeed in clothing the sailors in uniform, form- " ing them into regiments, and drilling them by " military exercise. I was told that I should ruin " all. And yet, can there be a greater advantage " than for one country to possess both an army and " a navy? The men, thus disciplined, were not " worse sailors than the rest; while, at the same " time, they were the best soldiers. They were, in " case of need, prepared to serve as sailors, sol- " diers, artillerymen, pontooneers, &c. If, instead " of being thus opposed by obstacles, I had found " in the navy a man capable of entering into my " views, and promoting my ideas, what impor- " tance might we not have obtained! But, during " my reign, I never found a naval officer who " could depart from the old routine, and strike out " a new course. I was much attached to the navy; " I admired the courage and patriotism of our

" seamen ; but I never found between them and " me an intermediate agent, who could have " brought them into operation in the way I " wished."

Napoleon's Imperial System.—Prefects.—Auditors of the Council of State.—The Emperor's Motives in granting lucrative Appointments.—His future Intentions.

7th.—Speaking of his imperial system, Napoleon observed that it had been the means of creating the most compact government, establishing the most rapid circulation in all its parts, and calling forth the most nervous efforts that had ever been witnessed. " And nothing short of this," said he, " would " have enabled us to triumph over such numerous " difficulties, and to achieve so many wonders. " The organization of the Prefectures, their ope- " rations, and the results they produced, were ad- " mirable. One and the same impulse was simulta- " neously communicated to more than 40,000,000 " of men ; and, by the help of those centres of " local activity, the movement was no less rapid " and energetic at the extremities than in the heart " itself.

" Foreigners who visited France, and who were " capable of observing and discerning, were filled " with astonishment. To this uniformity of action " prevailing over an immense extent of terri- " tory, must be attributed those prodigious efforts

" and immense results, which were acknowledged " to have been hitherto inconceivable.

" The Prefects, with their local authority and " resources, were themselves emperors on a small " scale. As their whole power proceeded from the " main spring, of which they were only the com- " municating channels; as their influence was not " personal, but was derived from their temporary " functions; as they had no connexion with " the district over which their jurisdiction ex- " tended; they presented all the advantages of " the great absolute agents of the old system, " without any of their disadvantages. It was " necessary to create this power," continued the Emperor, " for the force of circumstances had " placed me in the situation of a dictator. It " was requisite that all the filaments issuing from " me, should be in harmony with the first cause, " or my system would have failed in its result. " The network which I spread over the French " territory, required a violent tension and prodi- " gious power of elasticity, in order to make the " terrible blows that were constantly levelled at " us, rebound to distant points. Thus most of " the springs of my machinery were merely insti- " tutions connected with dictatorship, and mea- " sures for warlike defence. When the moment " should have arrived for slackening the reins, all " my connecting filaments would have relaxed " sympathetically, and we should then have pro-

" ceeded to our peace establishment and local in-
" stitutions. If we yet possessed none of these,
" it was because circumstances did not admit of
" them. Our immediate fall would have been the
" infallible consequence, had we been provided
" with them at the outset. It must not be sup-
" posed that the nation was all at once prepared
" to make a proper use of her liberty. Both with
" respect to education and character, the bulk of
" the people were imbued with too many of the
" prejudices of past times. We were daily im-
" proving, but we had yet much to acquire. At
" the time of the revolutionary explosion, the
" patriots, generally speaking, were such by nature
" and by instinct: with them patriotism was an
" innate sentiment, a passion, a phrensy. Hence
" the effervescence, the extravagance, the fury that
" marked the period. But it is vain to attempt to
" naturalize and mature the modern system by
" blows or jumps. It must be implanted with edu-
" cation, and must take root with reason and con-
" viction; and this will infallibly take place in
" course of time, because modern principles are
" founded on natural truths. But," added he,
" the men of our time were eager for the pos-
" session of power, which they exercised with a
" domineering spirit, to say no worse, while on the
" other hand they were ready to become the
" slaves of those who were above them! . . . We
" have always wavered between these two ex-

"tremes. In course of my journeys, I was often "obliged to say to the high officers who were "about my person:—pray let the Prefect speak "for himself. If I went to some sub-division of a "department, I then found it necessary to say to "the prefect:—let the sub-prefect or the mayor "make his reply. So eager were all to eclipse "each other, and so little did they perceive the "advantage that might arise from direct commu- "nication with me! If I sent my great officers or "ministers to preside at the electoral colleges, I "always advised them not to get nominated as "candidates for the Senate, as their seats were "secured to them by other means, and I wished "that they should resign the honour of the nomi- "nation to the principal individuals of the pro- "vinces: but they never conformed with my "wishes."

This reminded me of a misunderstanding that once took place, between the Emperor and the Minister Decrès, on the subject here alluded to. The Emperor having expressed displeasure at the nomination of the Minister:—"Sire," replied the latter, "your influence is more powerful than your "will. I in vain resisted, and assured them that "you wished these nominations to be made among "themselves. They insisted on shewing defer- "ence to your choice, and if you send me back, I "shall only be nominated over again."

"I granted," said Napoleon, "enormous salaries

" to Prefects and others; but with regard to my
" liberality on this head, it is necessary to dis-
" tinguish between what was systematic, and what
" was incidental. The latter forced me to grant
" lucrative appointments; the former would ulti-
" mately have enabled me to obtain gratuitous
" services. At the first outset, when the object
" was to conciliate individuals, and to re-establish
" some kind of society and morality, liberal sa-
" laries, absolute fortunes, were indispensable;
" but the result being obtained, and in course of
" time the natural order of things being restored,
" my intention, on the contrary, would have been
" to render almost all high public duties gratuitous.
" I would have discarded those needy individuals,
" who cannot be their own masters, and whose
" urgent wants engender political immorality. I
" would have wrought such a change in opinion,
" that public posts should have been sought after for
" the mere honour of filling them. The functions
" of magistrate or justice of the peace would have
" been discharged by men of fortune, who being
" guided solely by duty, philanthropy, and honour-
" able ambition, would have afforded the surest
" pledge of independence. It is this that consti-
" tutes the dignity and majesty of a nation, that
" exalts her character, and establishes public mo-
" rals. Such a change had become indispen-
" sable in France, and the dislike of getting
" into place might have been considered the fore-

" runner of our return to political morality. I " have been informed, that the mania of place- " hunting has crossed the sea, and that the con- " tagion has been communicated to our neighbours. " The English of former days were as much supe- " rior to this kind of meanness, as the people of " the United States now are. The love of place " is the greatest check to public morals. A man " who solicits a public post, feels his independence " sold beforehand. In England, the greatest fami- " lies, the whole peerage disdain not to hunt after " places. Their excuse is, that the enormous bur- " dens of taxation deprive them of the means of " living without additions to their income. Pitiful " pretence! It is because their principles are more " decayed than their fortunes. When people of a " certain rank stoop to solicit public posts for the " sake of emolument, there is an end to all indepen- " dence and dignity of national character. In France, " the shocks and commotions of our revolution " might have afforded an apology for such conduct. " All had been unsettled, and all felt the necessity " of re-establishing themselves. To promote this " object, with the least possible offence to delicacy " of feeling, I was induced to attach considerable " emolument and high honour to all public posts. " But in course of time, I intended to work a " change by the mere force of opinion. And this " was by no means impossible. Every thing must " yield to the influence of power, when it is di-

"rected to objects truly just, honourable, and "great.

"I was preparing a happy reign for my son. "For his sake I was rearing in the new school, "the numerous class of auditors of the Council of "State. Their education being completed, they "would, on attaining the proper age, have filled "all the public posts in the Empire; thus con- "firmed in modern principles, and improved by "the example of their precursors. They would "all have been twelve or fifteen years older than "my son, who would by this means have been "placed between two generations, and all their "advantages: maturity, experience, and prudence "above him; youth, promptitude, and activity "below him."

Here I could not refrain from expressing my astonishment, that the Emperor should never have thrown out a hint of the grand and important objects he had in contemplation. "What would "have been the use of promulgating my inten- "tions," said he; "I should have been styled a "quack, accused of insinuation and subtilty, and "have fallen into discredit. Situated as I was, "deprived of hereditary authority, and of the illu- "sion called legitimacy, I was compelled to avoid "entering the lists with my opponents; I was "obliged to be bold, imperious, and decisive. "You have told me that in your Faubourg, they "used to say, *Why is he not legitimate?* If I

" had been so, I certainly could not have done " more than I did; but my conduct might have " appeared more amiable."

La Vendée.—Charette.—Lamarque.—Tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles.—Real Tragedies among the Romans.—Seneca's Medea.—Singular Fact.

8th.—To-day the Emperor dictated to one of his suite, by which we were very much gratified, for it was a proof that he felt himself better.

I attended him after dinner. The exertion of dictating seemed to have roused his spirits. He was in a very talkative mood; and we conversed together, walking backward and forward in his chamber. The troubles of La Vendée, and the men who had been distinguished in them, formed the principal topics of discourse.

Charette was the only individual to whom the Emperor attached particular importance. " I have read " a history of La Vendée," said he, " and if the de- " tails and portraits were correct, Charette was the " only great character, the true hero of that remark- " able episode of our revolution, which, if it pre- " sented great misfortunes, at least did not sacrifice " our glory. In the wars of La Vendée, Frenchmen " destroyed each other; but they did not degrade " themselves: they received aid from foreigners; " but they did not stoop to the disgrace of march- " ing under their banners, and receiving daily pay " for merely executing their commands. Yes,"

continued he, " Charette impressed me with the idea " of a great character. I observed, that he on seve- " ral occasions acted with uncommon energy and " intrepidity. He betrayed genius." I mentioned, that I had known Charette very well in my youth; had been guards of the marine together at Brest, and for a long time we shared the same chamber, and messed at the same table. The brilliant career and exploits of Charette, very much astonished all who had formerly been acquainted with him. We looked upon him as a common-place sort of man, devoid of information, ill-tempered, and extremely indolent; and we all, with one accord, pronounced him to belong to the class of insignificant beings. It is true that when he began to rise into celebrity, we recollected a circumstance which certainly indicated decision of character. When Charette was first called into service, during the American war, and while yet a mere youth, he sailed out of Brest on board a cutter during the winter. The cutter lost her mast; and to a vessel of that description, such an accident was equivalent to certain destruction. The weather was very stormy. Death seemed inevitable; and the sailors, throwing themselves on their knees, lost all presence of mind, and refused to make any effort to save themselves. Charette, notwithstanding his extreme youth, killed one of the men, in order to compel the rest to make the necessary exertions. This dreadful example had the desired effect, and the vessel was saved. " You

"see," said the Emperor, "true decision of cha-
"racter always developes itself in critical circum-
"stances. Here was the spark that distinguished
"the hero of La Vendée. Men's dispositions are
"often misunderstood. There are sleepers whose
"waking is terrible. Kleber was an habitual
"slumberer; but, at the needful moment, he never
"failed to awake like a lion." I added, that I had often heard Charette relate that, in a moment of extreme danger, the whole crew of the cutter, by a spontaneous impulse, made a vow to go in their shirts and barefooted, to carry, a taper to our Lady of Recouvrance at Brest, if she would vouchsafe to ensure their safety. "And you may be-
"lieve it or not as you please," added Charette, with great simplicity; "but the fact is, they had
"no sooner uttered their prayer, than the wind
"suddenly abated, and from that moment we were
"inspired with the hope of preservation." On their return to land, the sailors, headed by their officers, devoutly fulfilled their vow. This was not the only miraculous circumstance connected with the little cutter. It was in the month of December, and the night was long and dark. The vessel had got entangled among ridges, and being deprived of her mast and all nautical aid, she sailed on at hazard, and the crew had resigned themselves to the will of fate, when they unexpectedly heard the ringing of a bell. They sounded, and finding but little depth of water, they cast anchor. What

was their surprise and joy, when they found themselves, at daybreak, at the mouth of the river of Landerneau! The bell they had heard, was that of the neighbouring parish church. The cutter had miraculously escaped the numerous sand banks that are dispersed about the entrance of Brest: she had been carried through the narrow inlet of the port, had passed three or four hundred ships that were lying in the roads, and had at length found a calm station at the mouth of a river. "This," said the Emperor, "shews the difference "between the blindfold efforts of man, and the "certain course of nature. That at which you "express so much surprise, must necessarily have "happened. It is very probable, that with the "full power of exerting the utmost skill, the con-"fusion and errors of the moment would have "occasioned the wreck of the vessel; whereas, in "spite of so many adverse chances, nature saved "her. She was borne onward by the tide; the "force of the current carried her precisely through "the middle of each channel, so that she could "not possibly have been lost."

Again alluding to the war of La Vendée, the Emperor mentioned that he had been withdrawn from the army of the Alps, for the purpose of being transferred to that of La Vendée; but, that he preferred resigning his commission to entering a service where he conceived he should only be concurring in mischief, without the probability of

obtaining any personal benefit. He said, that one of the first acts of his Consulate had been to quell the troubles in La Vendée. He did much for that unfortunate department, the inhabitants of which were very grateful to him; and when he passed through it, even the priests appeared to be sincerely favourable to him. "Thus," continued the Emperor, "the late insurrections did not present "the same character as the first. Their promi- "nent feature was not blind fanaticism, but merely "passive obedience to a ruling aristocracy. Be "this as it may, Lamarque, whom I sent to La "Vendée at the height of the crisis, performed "wonders, and even surpassed my hopes." What might not have been his influence in the great contest; for the most distinguished chiefs of La Vendée, those who are doubtless at this moment enjoying the favours of the court, acknowledged, through Lamarque, Napoleon as Emperor, even after Waterloo, even after his abdication! Was it that Lamarque was ignorant of the real state of things, or was it merely a whim on the part of the conqueror? At all events, Lamarque is in exile: he is one of the thirty-eight; "because it is easier to proscribe than to con- "quer."

The Emperor dined with us to-day, for the first time since his illness, that is to say, for the space of sixteen days. Our dinner was therefore a sort of *fête;* but we could not help remarking, with

regret, the change in the Emperor's countenance, which presented obvious traces of the ill effects of his long confinement.

After dinner we resumed our readings, which had been so long suspended. The Emperor read the Agamemnon of Æschylus, which he very much admired for its great force and simplicity. We were particularly struck with the graduation of terror which characterizes the productions of this father of tragedy. It was observed that this was the first spark to which the light of the modern drama may be traced.

Agamemnon being ended, the Emperor asked for the Ædipus of Sophocles, which also interested us exceedingly; and the Emperor expressed his regret at not having had it performed at St. Cloud.

Talma had always opposed the idea; but the Emperor was sorry that he had relinquished it. "Not," said he, "that I wished to correct our "drama by antique models. Heaven forbid! But "I merely wished to have opportunity of judging "how far ancient composition would have har- "monized with modern notions." He said he was convinced that such a performance would have afforded pleasure; and he made several remarks on the impression that was likely to be produced on modern taste, by the Greek chorusses, Coryphæi, &c.

He next turned to Voltaire's Ædipus, on which he bestowed high commendation. This piece, he

said, contained the finest scene in the French drama. As to its faults, the absurd passion of Philoctetes for example, they must not, he said, be attributed to the poet, but to the manners of the age, and the great actresses of the day, to whose laws a dramatic writer is obliged to submit.

This eulogium of Voltaire rather surprised us: it was something novel and singular in the mouth of the Emperor.

At eleven o'clock, after the Emperor had retired to bed, he sent for me, and resumed his conversation on the ancient and modern drama; on which he made many curious remarks.

In the first place, he expressed his surprise that the Romans should have had no tragedies; but then again, he observed, that tragedy, in dramatic representation, would have been ill calculated to rouse the feelings of the Romans, since they performed real tragedy in their circusses. "The "combats of the gladiators," said he, "the sight "of men consigned to the fury of wild beasts, "were far more terrible than all our dramatic "horrors put together. These, in fact, were the "only tragedies suited to the iron nerves of the "Romans."

However, it was observed, that the Romans possessed some dramatic essays, produced by Seneca. By the bye, it is a curious fact, that in Seneca's Medea, the chorus distinctly predicts the discovery of America, which took place 1,400

years after that drama was written. In the passage here alluded to, it is said, " A new Tiphys, a son of the earth, will, in ages to come, discover remote regions towards the west, and Thule will no longer be the extremity of the universe."*

The Emperor considerably better.—Infernal Machine Story.—Madame R . . . . . de St. J . . . d'A . . . . . — The two Empresses.—Josephine's Extravagance.—Characteristic Anecdotes of the Emperor.

9th.—To-day the Emperor felt himself infinitely better. He was surrounded by all his suite, and he began to talk of the prodigies of his early career, which, he said, must have produced a great impression in the world. " So great an impres- " sion," said an individual present, " that some " were induced to regard them as supernatural." On this subject, the following anecdote was related: At the time of the explosion of the infernal machine, a person, who had just heard the news, called at a house in a certain quarter of the capital, and hastily entering the drawing-room, in which a party was assembled, he informed the com-

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* . . . . . venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat orbes, nec sit terris ultima Thule.

End of the Chorus of the 2d Act of Seneca's Medea.

pany that Napoleon was no more ; and after giving an account of the event that had just taken place, he concluded by saying : " He is fairly blown up." " He blown up !" exclaimed an old Austrian officer, who had eagerly listened to all that was said, and who had been a witness to many of the dangers which the young General of the army of Italy had so miraculously escaped ; " he blown up ! " Ah ! you know a great deal about it. I venture " to say that he is, at this very moment, as well as " any of us. I know him and all his tricks of " old !"

The name of Madame R . . . . . de St. J . . . d'A . . . . . having been mentioned, an individual present informed the Emperor how much attachment she had evinced for him during his stay at the Isle of Elba. " How ! She ? " exclaimed the Emperor, with mingled surprise and satisfaction. —" Yes, Sire."—" Poor lady !" said he, in a tone of deep regret ; " and yet how ill I treated her ! " Well ! this at least repays me for the ingrati- " tude of those renegades, on whom I lavished so " many favours . . . !" Then, after a few moments' silence, he said, significantly, " It is very certain, " that one can never know people's characters and " sentiments until after great trials."

At dinner, the Emperor was very good humoured and cheerful. He congratulated himself on having got through his late illness, without having recourse to medicine, without paying tri-

bute to the Doctor. At this, he said, the latter had been very much vexed. He would have been content with ever so little, with the slightest acknowledgment; he only asked for compliance with the form, like a priest in confession. The Emperor laughed, and added, that out of mere complaisance, he had made trial of a gargle, but that its strong acidity had disagreed with him.—This led him to observe that mild medicines were best suited to his constitution. "Gentle remedies, "whether physical or moral," said he, are the only "ones that take effect on me."

In the course of conversation, the Emperor spoke of the Empresses Josephine and Maria Louisa, of whom he related some very interesting details, and concluded with his usual observation, that the one was the model of the graces, with all their facinations; and that the other was the emblem of innocence, with all its charms.

The Emperor estimated the expenses of Malmaison to have been three or 400,000 francs; that is to say, all that he was at that time possessed of. He then calculated the amount of the sums which the Empress Josephine must have received from him: and added, that with a little order and regularity, she might, probably, have left behind her fifty or 60,000,000 of francs. "Her extravagance," said the Emperor, "vexed me beyond measure. Cal-"culator as I am, I would, of course, rather have "given away a million of francs, than have seen

"100,000 squandered away." He informed us that having one day unexpectedly broken in upon Josephine's morning circle, he found a celebrated milliner, whom he had expressly forbidden to go near the Empress, as she was ruining her by extravagant demands. "My unlooked for en-
"trance occasioned great dismay in the academic
"sitting. I gave some orders unperceived to the
"individuals who were in attendance, and on the
"lady's departure, she was seized and conducted
"to Bicetre. A great outcry was raised among
"the higher circles in Paris; it was said, that my
"conduct was disgraceful. It soon became the
"fashion to visit the milliner in her confinement,
"and there was daily a file of carriages at the gate
"of the prison. The police informed me of these
"facts. All the better, said I; but I hope she is
"not treated with severity; not confined in a dun-
"geon?—'No, Sire, she has a suite of apartments,
"and a drawing room.' Oh, well! let her be.
"If this measure is pronounced to be tyrannical,
"so much the better; it will be a diapason stroke
"for a great many others. Very little will serve
"to shew that I can do more." He also mentioned a celebrated man milliner, who, he remarked, was the most insolent fellow he had ever met with in the whole course of his life. "I was one day," said the Emperor, "speaking to him respecting a *trousseau*
"that he had furnished, when he had the pre-
"sumption to call my conduct in question. He

"did what no man in France, except himself, "would have ventured to do; he began, with "great volubility, to prove to me that I did not "grant a sufficient allowance to the Empress Jose-"phine; and that it was impossible she could pay "for her clothes out of such a sum. I soon put "an end to his impertinent eloquence; I stopped "him short with a look, and left him transfixed."

When the Emperor had retired to his chamber, he sent for me, and after he had gone to bed, he continued to converse very cheerfully, on various subjects. He said he found himself much better, and that he felt a pleasure in chatting. However, he was very much troubled with a cough, and this had forced him to rise from table earlier than he otherwise would have done. "I unthinkingly took "too much snuff," said he, "my attention having "been absorbed in the conversation of the mo-"ment. In such a case you should always take "away my snuff-box: that is the way to serve "those one loves."

War on great Roads.—Dumouriez more daring than Napoleon.—Princess Charlotte of Wales and the Prince of Saxe Cobourg.

10th.—For some days past, the Emperor has been reading works on war, fortifications, artillery, &c. He has examined Vauban, an Account of Campaigns during the Revolution, Gassendi's Dictionary, and Geubert's Tactics; with all of which

he is much pleased. These subjects have led him to speak of several Generals, who have already been frequently noticed in the course of this journal. "They could only carry on war on great "roads," said he, "and within range of cannon, "when their field of battle should have extended "over a whole country."

During dinner, he spoke of the campaign of Dumouriez in Champagne, which he had just been reading. He thought little of the Duke of Brunswick, who, with a plan of offensive operations, had advanced only eighteen leagues in forty days. But, on the other hand, he very much blamed Dumouriez, whose position, he said, was far too hazardous. "For me, this is saying a great deal," added he; "for I consider myself to have been "the most venturous man in war that perhaps "ever lived. Yet I should certainly have been "afraid to keep the position that Dumouriez re-"tained; so numerous were the dangers it pre-"sented. I could only explain his manœuvre, on "the supposition that he could not venture to re-"tire; he would probably have encountered greater "risks in retreating, than in staying where he was. "Wellington was placed in the same situation at "Waterloo.

"The French are the bravest troops in the "world. They will fight in whatever position "they may be attacked; but they cannot retreat "before a victorious enemy. If they experience

" the least check, they lose all presence of mind " and discipline; they slip through your fingers, " as it were. Dumouriez, I suppose, calculated on " this; or perhaps he might have been influenced " by some secret negotiation of which we are ig- " norant."

The newspapers which we perused to-day, mentioned the marriage of Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg, to Princess Charlotte of Wales.

" Prince Leopold," said the Emperor, " once " had a chance of becoming my aide-de-camp. " He solicited the appointment, and I don't know " what prevented his obtaining it. However, it " was lucky for him that his application proved " unsuccessful: had it been otherwise, his present " marriage would never have taken place. Who " can pretend to say what is fortunate or unfor- " tunate in the events of human life! . . ."

Princess Charlotte of Wales next became the subject of conversation. Some one observed, that she was exceedingly popular in England, and that she had given many unequivocal proofs of energy of character. The English were of opinion, that she would be another Elizabeth, and she herself seemed to cherish that idea. The individual who made these remarks, said, that he happened to be in London in 1814, at the time when the young Princess, indignant at the ill treatment of her mother, escaped from the Prince Regent's palace, and stepping into the first hackney coach she met with

in the street, drove to the residence of her mother, to whom she was fondly attached. On this occasion, the natural severity of the English relaxed into indulgence; and all were inclined to pardon the breach of decorum, in consideration of the amiable sentiment that had occasioned it. The young Princess would not leave her mother, until the Duke of York, or another of her uncles, and, as it was said, the Lord Chancellor, prevailed on her to go back to her father's palace, by assuring her, that to persist in the course she had adopted, would endanger her mother's happiness, perhaps even her life.

Princess Charlotte had already given a proof of decision of character, in refusing to marry the Prince of Orange. Her reason for rejecting this alliance was, that it would have obliged her occasionally to reside out of England; and this truly national sentiment contributed to render her the more dear to the English people.

The English who are at St. Helena, assure us that her union with the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, was perfectly in unison with her own wishes, and that she publicly declared she looked forward to happiness, because in her choice she had been guided purely by sentiment. She was said to be much attached to Prince Leopold.—"I readily "believe it," said the Emperor: I recollect him "very well; and when he appeared at the Tuileries, "I thought him one of the handsomest young

" men I ever saw." Within these few days, the English who are here have related an incident which they regard as a proof of high spirit and dignity of feeling on the part of their future Queen. Previously to her marriage, one of the Ministers waited upon her for the purpose of settling some domestic details; and having submitted to her some propositions which she did not conceive to be sufficiently liberal,—" My Lord," said she, " I " am heiress to the throne of Great Britain; and " my mind has risen to a level with the exalted " station I am destined to fill. Therefore, I must " be provided for accordingly. Do not imagine " that in marrying Prince Leopold, I ever can or " will sink to the rank of *Mistress Cobourg*. En- " tertain no such idea, I beg of you."

The young Princess is the idol of the English people, who look forward to her reign as affording the prospect of future happiness.

The Emperor, again alluding to Prince Leopold, and the chance he had of becoming his aide-de-camp, said:—" A crowd of German Princes so- " licited the same favour. When I established the " Confederation of the Rhine, the sovereigns who " were included in it, took it for granted that I " intended to revive in my person the etiquette and " forms of the Holy Roman Empire; and all, even " Kings themselves, were eager to join my retinue. " One wished to be appointed my cup-bearer, " another my grand butler, &c. At this period,

"the Princes of Germany literally invaded the "Tuileries; they crowded the saloons, and modest- "ly mingled with the officers of my household. "It was the same with the Italians, Spaniards, and "Portuguese; in short, all the most exalted indi- "viduals in Europe were assembled at the Tui- "leries. . . . . The fact is," added the Emperor, "that during my reign, Paris was in itself a na- "tion, and the first in the world! . . ."

Remarks of several important Subjects.—Napoleon's debut in Diplomacy.—Concentration of the Nations of Europe.—Conquest of Spain.—Danger of Russia.—Bernadotte.

11th.—The Emperor did not leave his chamber to-day. I spent nearly the whole of the day with him; for I only left him to go to dinner.

The conversations of the day were diffuse and interesting, for the Emperor was exceedingly chatty. He discussed numerous subjects perfectly heterogeneous in their nature, though they were naturally introduced one by another. His conversation abounded with ideas and facts totally new to me. But the number and importance of the Emperor's remarks, rendered it impossible for me to seize them all. My eagerness to note down the past observation, sometimes occasioned the present one to escape me; but, for this very reason, I can with the greater confidence vouch for the accuracy of what I have preserved.

Speaking of the elements of society, the Emperor said: "Democracy may be furious; but it "has some heart, it may be moved. As to aris- "tocracy, it is always cold and unforgiving."

At another time, after some preliminary observations, he said:—"All human institutions pre- "sent two opposite points of view; all have their "advantages and disadvantages: for example, both "republican and monarchical government may "be defended and opposed. Doubtless, it is easy "to prove in theory that both are equally good, "and very good; but this is not quite so easy in "application." He remarked, that the extreme boundary of the government of many was anarchy; and that the extreme boundary of the government of a single one was despotism; that a just medium between both was unquestionably the best, were it in the power of wisdom steadily to pursue such a course. He added, these truths had been repeated, until they had become absolutely commonplace, without producing any good result; that on this subject many volumes had been written, and many would still be written without effect.

The Emperor at another moment said: "Despo- "tism is not absolute; but merely relative. A "man cannot with impunity absorb all power "within himself. If a Sultan strike off the heads "of his subjects, according to the whim of the "moment; he incurs the risk of losing his own by "the same sort of caprice. Excess will always in-

" cline either to one side or the other. What the sea " gains by encroachment in one direction, it loses " elsewhere. When I was in Egypt, a conqueror, " an absolute ruler and master, dictating laws to " the people by mere orders of the day, I could " not have presumed to search the houses, and it " would have been out of my power to have pre- " vented the inhabitants from speaking freely in " their coffee-houses, where liberty and indepen- " dence prevailed even in a greater degree than in " Paris. The people yielded like slaves in all other " places; but they resolved to enjoy full liberty in " their coffee-houses, which were absolutely the " citadels of freedom, the bazaars of public opinion. " Here they loudly declaimed and passed judgment " on the measures of the day: it would have been " impossible to close their mouths. If I happened " to enter these places, all bowed before me, it is " true; but this was a mark of esteem to me per- " sonally. No such homage was shewn to any " lieutenants.

" Be this as it may," said he, alluding to another topic, " France, when subject to the opposing " influences of many, was on the point of falling " beneath the blows of combined Europe; but she " placed the helm in the hands of one, and imme- " diately, the First Consul, laid down the law to " Europe. Such is the power of unity and concen- " tration; these are facts which must be con- " vincing to the meanest understandings.

"It was curious to observe, that the old cabinets "of Europe were unable to conceive the impor- "tance of this change, and that they continued to "treat with unity and concentration, in the same "manner as they had done with the multitude and "dispersion. It is no less remarkable, that the "Emperor Paul, who was looked upon as a fool, "was the first to appreciate this difference; while "the English Ministers, reputed to be so skilful "and experienced, were the very last. '*I set aside "the abstractions of your revolution,*' Paul wrote to "me, '*I confine myself to a fact: in my eyes you "are a government, and I address myself to you, "because we can understand each other, and I can "treat with you.*'

"With regard to the English Ministry, I was "ever obliged to conquer and force peace, and "absolutely to detach England from the rest of "Europe, before I could get them to listen to me; "and even when they opened negotiations with "me, they followed all the traces of the old rou- "tine. They tried to divert away my attention by "delays, protocols, forms, ceremonies, precedents, "and I know not what. But I felt myself so "powerful, that I could afford to laugh at all this!

"A new state of things required a new line of "conduct; but the English Ministers seemed to "have no idea of the age, or of the men and things "belonging to it. My manner quite disconcerted "them. I commenced in diplomacy, as I had

"already commenced in arms. These are my "propositions, said I, to the English Ministry:—we "are masters of Holland and Switzerland; but I "am ready to resign both, in return for the resti- "tutions that you may make to us or our allies. "We are also masters of Italy, of which I will sur- "render up one portion and retain the other, for "the purpose of guaranteeing the existence of all. "These are my bases; you are free to build round "them as much as you please; I care not for that; "but the object and result must remain as I have "specified. I will not yield a hair's breadth of my "determination. My object is not to purchase "concessions from you; but to enter into reason- "able, honourable, and lasting engagements. This "is the circle I have traced out. It appears to "me, that you have formed no notion of our re- "spective situations or resources. I fear not your "refusal, your efforts, nor any difficulties you may "throw in my way. I have a strong arm, and I "only want a weight to lift."

"This unusual language," continued the Em- peror, "produced the desired effect. In the ne- "gotiations of Amiens, they had intended merely "to divert us; but they now began to treat seri- "ously. Not knowing at what point I was vul- "nerable, they offered to make me King of France. "This was a good idea! King, by the grace of "foreigners, when I was already Sovereign by the "will of the people! . . .

"Such was the ascendency I had acquired, that "even while the negotiations were pending, I got "myself elected President of the Italian Republic; "and this circumstance, which, in the ordinary "course of European diplomacy, would naturally "have created so many obstacles, occasioned no "interruption of the proceedings. Matters were "brought to a conclusion; and I gained my point "by plain dealing, better than if I had fallen into "all the usual diplomatic subtleties. Many libel- "lous pamphlets, and manifestoes of no better "character, accused me of perfidy, and of breach "of faith in my negotiations; but I never merited "these charges, which, on the contrary, might "always have been justly applied to the other "cabinets of Europe.

"At Amiens, I sincerely thought the fate of "France and Europe, and my own destiny, were "permanently fixed; I hoped that war was at an "end. However, the English Cabinet again kin- "dled the flame. England is alone responsible "for all the miseries by which Europe has since "been assailed. For my part, I intended to have "devoted myself wholly to the internal interests "of France; and I am confident I should have "wrought miracles. I should have lost nothing "in the scale of glory; and I should have gained "much in the scale of happiness. I should then "have achieved the moral conquest of Europe, "which I was afterwards on the point of accom-

" plishing by force of arms. Of how much glory
" was I thus deprived!

" My enemies always spoke of my love of war;
" but was I not constantly engaged in self-de-
" fence? After every victory I gained, did I not
" immediately make proposals for peace?

" The truth is, I never was master of my own
" actions. I never was entirely myself. I might
" have conceived many plans; but I never had it
" in my power to execute any. I held the helm
" with a vigorous hand; but the fury of the waves
" was greater than any force I could exert in re-
" sisting them; and I prudently yielded, rather
" than incur the risk of sinking through stubborn
" opposition. I never was truly my own master;
" but was always controlled by circumstances.
" Thus, at the commencement of my rise, during
" the Consulate, my sincere friends and warm par-
" tisans, frequently asked me, with the best inten-
" tions, and as a guide for their own conduct,
" *what point I was driving at?* and I always an-
" swered that I did not know. They were sur-
" prised, probably dissatisfied, and yet I spoke the
" truth. Subsequently, during the Empire, when
" there was less familiarity, many faces seemed to
" put the same question to me; and I might still
" have given the same reply. In fact, I was not
" master of my actions, because I was not fool
" enough to attempt to twist events into con-
" formity with my system. On the contrary, I

" moulded my system according to the unforeseen " succession of events. This often appeared like " unsteadiness and inconsistency, and of these " faults I was sometimes unjustly accused?"

After alluding to some other subjects, the Emperor said, " One of my great plans was the re- " joining, the concentration of those same geogra- " phical nations which have been disunited and " parcelled out by revolution and policy. There " are dispersed in Europe, upwards of 30,000,000 " of French, 15,000,000 of Spaniards, 15,000,000 " of Italians, and 30,000,000 of Germans; and it " was my intention to incorporate these people " each into one nation. It would have been a " noble thing to have advanced into posterity with " such a train, and attended by the blessings of " future ages. I felt myself worthy of this glory!

" After this summary simplification, it would " have been possible to indulge the chimera of the " *beau ideal* of civilization. In this state of things, " there would have been some chance of establish- " ing, in every country, a unity of codes, principles, " opinions, sentiments, views, and interests. Then, " perhaps, by the help of the universal diffusion of " knowledge, one might have thought of attempt- " ing, in the great European family, the applica- " tion of the American Congress, or the Amphic- " tyons of Greece. What a perspective of power, " grandeur, happiness, and prosperity, would thus " have appeared! . . .

"The concentration of thirty or 40,000,000 of "Frenchmen was completed and perfected; and "that of 15,000,000 of Spaniards was nearly ac- "complished; for nothing is more common than "to convert accident into principle. Because I "did not subdue the Spaniards, it will henceforth "be argued that they were invincible. But the "fact is,' that they were actually conquered, and "at the very moment when they escaped me, the "Cortes of Cadiz were secretly in treaty with me. "They were not delivered either by their own re- "sistance, or the efforts of the English, but by the "reverses which I sustained at distant points; and "above all, by the error I committed in transfer- "ring my whole forces to the distance of a thou- "sand leagues from them. Had it not been for "this, the Spanish Government would shortly "have been consolidated; the public mind would "have been tranquillized; and hostile parties "would have rallied together. Three or four years "would have restored the Spaniards to profound "peace and brilliant prosperity: they would have "become a compact nation, and I should have well "deserved their gratitude; for I should have "saved them from the tyranny by which they are "now oppressed, and the terrible agitations that "await them.

"With regard to the 15,000,000 of Italians, "their concentration was already far advanced: it "only wanted maturity. The people were daily

" becoming more firmly established in the unity " of principles and legislation; and also in the " unity of thought and feeling, that certain and in- " fallible cement of human concentration. The " union of Piedmont to France, and the junction of " Parma, Tuscany and Rome, were, in my mind, " only temporary measures, intended merely to " guarantee and promote the national education of " the Italians.* You may judge of the correctness

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* So important a determination, as that of the future abandonment of Italy, thus pronounced for the first time, and in a manner so indifferent, without the development of any object, or the support of any proof, would be, I confess, entitled to no higher consideration, than the assertions that are so frequently hazarded and excused in the warmth of conversation. But time and intimacy have taught me, that every declaration made by Napoleon, under such circumstances, carried along with it its full, whole, and literal meaning. I have always found this to be the case, whenever I have had the means of verification. I make this observation, lest the reader should also be led to doubt, too hastily, without obtaining, or, at least, without seeking for proof.

I now find, for example, in vol. i. of Napoleon's Memoires, dictated to Count Montholon, so complete and satisfactory a confirmation of the remark which I collected from the Emperor's conversation at St. Helena, that I cannot refrain from transcribing it.

The passage is as follows :—

" It was Napoleon's desire to raise up the Italian Nation, and " to re-unite the Venetians, Milanese, Piedmontese, Genoese, " Tuscans, Parmesans, Modenese, Romans, Neapolitans, Sici- " lians, and Sardinians, in one independent nation, bounded by " the Alps, and the Adriatic, Ionian, and Mediterranean seas:

" of my views, and of the influence of common " laws. The portions of Italy that were united to " France, though that union might have been re- " garded as the insult of invasion on our part, were,

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" such was the immortal trophy he was raising to his glory! " This great and powerful kingdom would have been, by land, " a check to the House of Austria; whilst, by sea, its fleets, " combined with those of Toulon, would have ruled the Medi- " terranean, and protected the old course of trade to India, " by the Red Sea and Suez. Rome, the capital of this state, was " the eternal city; covered by the three barriers of the Alps, the " Po, and the Apennines; nearer than any other to the three " great Islands. But Napoleon had many obstacles to surmount. " He said, at the Council of Lyons, *It will take me twenty years* " *to re-establish the Italian Nation.*

" There were three impediments to this grand design; first, " the possessions of Foreign Powers in Italy; second, the in- " fluence of locality; and, third, the residence of the Popes at " Rome.

" Scarcely ten years had elapsed, from the date of the *Consul-* " *tum* of Lyons, before the first obstacle was entirely removed. " Foreign Powers no longer possessed any portion of Italy; " which was entirely under the immediate influence of the Em- " peror. The abrogation of the Republic of Venice, the deposi- " tion of the King of Sardinia and of the Grand Duke of Tus- " cany, the annexation of Saint Peter's patrimony to the Empire, " had set aside the second obstacle. As founders, who have to " transform several guns of small calibre, into one forty-eight " pounder, first throw them all into the furnace to reduce them " to a state of fusion, so the small States had been united to Aus- " tria and France, that they might be reduced to an elementary " state, freed of their old recollections and pretensions, and thus " prepared for recasting. The Venetians having been annexed

" in spite of their Italian patriotism, the very places " that continued most attached to us. Now that " they are restored to themselves, they conceive " that they have been invaded and disinherited; " and so they certainly have been! . . .

" All the South of Europe therefore, would " soon have been rendered compact in point of " locality, views, opinions, sentiments, and inter- " ests. In this state of things, what would have " been the weight of all the nations of the north? " What human efforts could have broken through " so strong a barrier?

" The concentration of the Germans must have " been effected more gradually; and therefore I " had done no more than simplify their monstrous

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" to the Austrian Monarchy, had for several years experienced " the bitterness of subjection to the Germans. When these " people were restored to an Italian Government, they cared " little whether their city was to be the capital of Italy, or whe- " ther their Government was to be more or less aristocratic. A " similar change took place in Piedmont, Genoa, and Rome, " which had all been disorganized by the change of the French " Empire.

" There were now no Venetians, Piedmontese, or Tuscans: " the inhabitants of the whole Peninsula were only Italians. All " was prepared for forming the great Italian Nation. The Grand " Duchy of Berg was vacant for the dynasty which, for the " time, occupied the throne of Naples. The Emperor impa- " tiently awaited the birth of his second son, to crown him King " of Italy; and to proclaim the independence of the beautiful " Peninsula, under the Regency of Prince Eugene."

" complication. Not that they were unprepared " for concentralization ; on the contrary, they were " too well prepared for it, and they might have " blindly risen in reaction against us, before they " had comprehended our designs. How happens " it, that no German Prince has yet formed a just " notion of the spirit of his nation, and turned it to " good account? Certainly, if heaven had made " me a Prince of Germany, amidst the many criti- " cal events of our times, I should, infallibly, have " governed the 30,000,000 of Germans combined; " and from what I know of them, I think I may " venture to affirm, that, if they had once elected " and proclaimed me, they would not have for- " saken me, and I should never have been at St. " Helena. . . . ."

Then, after some melancholy details and comparisons, resuming the previous subject, he said, " At all events, this concentration will be brought " about, sooner or later, by the very force of events. " The impulse is given; and I think, that since " my fall, and the destruction of my system, no " grand equilibrium can possibly be established in " Europe, except by the concentration and confe- " deration of the principal nations. The sovereign, " who, in the first great conflict, shall sincerely " embrace the cause of the people, will find himself " at the head of all Europe, and may attempt " whatever he pleases.

" It will perhaps be asked why I did not suffer

" these ideas to transpire? why I did not submit " them to public discussion; since they would, " doubtless, have become popular, and popularity " would have been an immense reinforcement to " me? My answer is, that malevolence is ever " more active than good intention; that, at the " present day, the power of wit overrules good " sense, and obscures the clearest points at will; " and that, to have submitted these important sub- " jects to public discussion, would have been to " consign them to the mercy of party spirit, pas- " sion, intrigue, and gossiping, while the infallible " result would have been discredit and opposition. " I conceived, therefore, that secrecy was the most " advisable course. I surrounded myself with " that halo of mystery, which pleases and interests " the multitude; gives birth to speculations, which " occupy the public mind; and, finally, affords op- " portunities for those sudden and brilliant disclo- " sures, which exercise such important influence. " It was this very principle that accelerated my un- " fortunate march to Moscow Had I been more " deliberate, I might have averted every evil; but " I could not delay, and afford time for comment. " With my career already traced out, with my " ideas formed for the future, it was necessary that " my movement and my success should seem, as " it were, supernatural." The Emperor here ad- verted to the Russian expedition, repeating many of the observations which I have already recorded

elsewhere. I now note down only what I conceive to be new.

"I will name another occasion," said he, "on "which accident was taken for principle. I failed "in my expedition against the Russians; and they, "therefore, consider themselves invincible. But "can any thing be more erroneous? Ask men "of sense and reflection among them! Ask Alex- "ander himself, and let him recollect the opi- "nions he entertained at the time! Was I "defeated by the efforts of the Russians? No! "my failure must be attributed to pure accident, "to absolute fatality. First, a capital was burnt "to the ground by foreign intriguers, and in de- "fiance of its inhabitants; second, the frost set in "with such unusual suddenness and severity, that "it was regarded as a kind of phenomenon. To "these disasters must be added a mass of false "reports, silly intrigues, treachery, stupidity, and "in short, many things that will perhaps one day "come to light, and which will excuse or justify "the two great errors I committed in diplomacy "and war; namely, to have undertaken such an "enterprise, leaving on my flanks, which soon be- "came my rear, two cabinets of which I was not "master, and two allied armies, who, on the least "check would become my enemies. But to come "to a conclusion, and to annul with a word every "charge that can be brought against me, I may "say that this famous war, this bold enterprise,

" were perfectly involuntary on my part. I did " not wish to give battle; neither did Alexander;— " but being once in presence, circumstances urged " us on, and fate accomplished the rest."

After a few moments' silence, and as if waking from a reverie, the Emperor added :—" A French- " man had in his hands the fate of the world! If " he had possessed judgment and spirit equal to " the exalted situation in which he was placed, if " he had been a good Swede as he pretended he " was, he might have restored the glory and " power of his adopted country, have retaken " Finland, and arrived at St. Petersburgh before " I reached Moscow. But he was swayed by per- " sonal considerations, silly vanity, and all sorts " of mean passions. His head was turned, when " he saw that he, an old Jacobin, was courted " and flattered by legitimates; when he found " himself face to face, holding political and friendly " conferences with an Emperor of all the Rus- " sias, who took great pains to cajole him. It " is affirmed, that hints were even thrown out to " him of the possibility of his obtaining the hand " of one of the sisters of the Russian Emperor, " by divorcing his wife; and, in a letter addressed " to him by a French Prince, the writer remarked, " with complacency, that Bearn was the cradle " of both their houses! *The house of B.* . . . . . " forsooth!

" Dazzled by his rise of fortune, he sacrificed

" both his adopted and his mother country, his " own glory, his true power, the cause of the " people, and the welfare of Europe! For this he " will pay dearly! No sooner had he accomplished " all that was expected of him, than he began to " feel what awaited him. It is said that he has " repented of his conduct; but he has not yet ex- " piated it. He is now the only upstart sovereign " in Europe. The scandal cannot remain un- " punished; it would be too dangerous an ex- " ample."

The Emperor had but little Confidence in the Issue of 1815.—*Themistocles.—In the crisis of* 1814, *Napoleon himself momentarily entertained a thought of restoring the Bourbons.—Baron Fain's Manuscript of* 1814.—*The Abdication of Fontainebleau, &c.*

12th.—The Emperor adverting to his return from the Island of Elba, and his second fall at Waterloo, made some remarkable observations on both these subjects. " It is very certain," said he, " that during the events of 1815, I relinquished " the anticipation of ultimate success: I lost my " first confidence. Perhaps I found, that I was " wearing beyond the time of life at which fortune " usually proves favourable; or, perhaps, in my " own eyes, in my own imagination, the spell that " had hung over my miraculous career was broken; " —but, at all events, I felt that something was " wanting. Kind fortune no longer followed my

" footsteps, and took pleasure in lavishing her " smiles upon me; she was now succeeded by rigid " fate, who took ample revenge for the few favours " which I obtained, as it were, by force. It is a " remarkable fact, that every advantage I obtained " at this period, was immediately succeeded by a " reverse.

" I marched through France, and arrived in the " capital amidst the enthusiasm and universal ac- " clamations of the people; but no sooner had I " reached Paris, than by a sort of magic, and with- " out any adequate motive, all around me re- " tracted and grew cold.

" I had adduced plausible reasons for obtaining " a sincere reconciliation with Austria, whither I " had despatched agents, more or less acknow- " ledged.* But Murat was there with his fatal " enterprise. It was concluded at Vienna, that he

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* Among others, Baron Stassard, in whose well known fidelity Napoleon reposed such confidence, that he sent him to the Congress of Vienna, to negotiate for the maintenance of the peace of Paris. But the Baron was unfortunately prevented from going beyond Lintz; the most furious and inveterate individuals in the Allied Cabinets, having adopted the precaution of securing the absolute prohibition of all communication with Napoleon. It was, however, indirectly intimated to Baron Stassard, that if, before the commencement of hostilities, the Emperor chose to abdicate in favour of his son, Austria would accede to that condition, provided Napoleon would surrender himself into the hands of his father-in-law, who would again guarantee to him the sovereignty of the Isle of Elba, or any analogous dominion.

" was acting under my orders; and, measuring me
" by their own scale, they regarded my whole con-
" duct as a complication of artifice, and deter-
" mined to overreach me by counter intrigue.

" The opening of my campaign was well managed
" and proved most successful. I should have sur-
" prised the enemy in detail; but that a deserter
" from among our generals gave him timely notice
" of my plans.

" I gained the brilliant victory of Ligni; but
" my lieutenant robbed me of its fruits. Finally,
" I triumphed even at Waterloo, and was imme-
" diately hurled into the abyss. Yet I must con-
" fess that all these strokes of fate, distressed me
" more than they surprised me. I felt the pre-
" sentiment of an unfortunate result. Not that
" this in any way influenced my determinations
" and measures; but the foreboding certainly
" haunted my mind."

That such was really Napoleon's state of feeling at the period here alluded to, is evident from the following anecdote, which is so very remarkable, that I cannot forbear presenting it to the reader. When on the banks of the Sambre, the Emperor early one morning approached a bivouac fire, accompanied only by his aide-de-camp on duty (General C. . . .). Some potatoes were boiling on the fire, and the Emperor asked for one, and began to eat it. Then, with a meditative and somewhat melancholy expression, he uttered the

following broken sentences :—"After all, it is en-
"durable . . . Man may live in any place, and in
"any way . . . The moment perhaps is not far re-
"mote—Themistocles! . . . ." The aide-de-camp above mentioned, who himself related this circumstance to me, since my return to Europe, observed, that had the Emperor been successful, these words would have passed away without leaving any impression on him; but, that after the catastrophe, and particularly after reading the celebrated letter to the Prince Regent, he had been struck with the recollection of the bivouac of the Sambre; and Napoleon's manner, tone, and expression, had since so haunted his mind, that he could never banish the circumstance from his memory.

It is a mistake to suppose that Napoleon was on all occasions inspired by that internal confidence, which his acts and decisions seemed to denote. When he quitted the Tuileries, in January 1814, to enter upon his immortal but unfortunate campaign in the environs of Paris, his mind was depressed by gloomy apprehensions:—and a circumstance that bears evidence of his penetration and foresight, is, that at the period in question, he felt convinced of what the majority of the individuals about him were far from suspecting;—namely, that if he fell, it would be by the Bourbons. This idea he communicated to a few of his particular friends, who vainly endeavoured to rouse his confidence, by vainly representing that the

Bourbons were forgotten, that they were wholly unknown to the present generation:—"There is "the real danger," was his invariable reply. Thus, immediately after his eloquent and impressive harangue to the officers of the national guard, in which among other things he said:—"You elected "me, I am your work, and it is for you to defend "me;" and which he concluded by presenting to them the Empress and the King of Rome, saying, "I go to oppose the enemy, and I consign to your "care all that I hold most dear:"—immediately after delivering this address, when on the point of quitting the Tuileries, he foresaw at that decisive moment the treachery and perfidy that awaited him, and he resolved to secure the person of him who proved to be the main-spring of the plot, by which his overthrow was effected. He was prevented from executing his intention only by representations, and it may even be said, offers of personal responsibility, on the part of some of his Ministers, who assured him, that the individual suspected, had more reason than any one else to dread the return of the Bourbons. Napoleon yielded; at the same time emphatically expressing fears that he might have cause to regret his forbearance! . . .

The following circumstance, which is but little known, is important, since it proves how much, in the height of the crisis, Napoleon's thoughts were

directed towards the Bourbons. After the check sustained at Brienne, the evacuation of Troyes, the forced retreat on the Seine, and the degrading conditions which were transmitted from Chatillon, but which were so generously rejected, the Emperor, who was closeted with one of his friends, overpowered at sight of the miseries that were impending on France, suddenly rose from his chair, exclaiming with warmth:—"Perhaps I still "possess the means of saving France. . . . . What "if I were myself to recal the Bourbons! The "Allies would then be compelled to arrest their "course, under pain of being overwhelmed with "disgrace, and detected in their duplicity; under "pain of being forced to acknowledge that their "designs were directed against our territory, rather "than against my person. I should sacrifice all "to the country. I should become the mediator "between the French people and the Bourbons. I "should oblige the latter to accede to the national "laws, and to swear fidelity to the existing com-"pact: my glory and name would be a guarantee "to the French people. As to me, I have reigned "long enough. My career is filled with acts of "glory; and this last will not be esteemed the "least. I shall rise the higher by descending thus "far. . . ." Then, after a pause of some moments, he added:—"But can a repulsed dynasty "ever forgive? . . . Can it ever forget? . . . Can

"the Bourbons be trusted? . . . May not Fox be "right in his famous maxim respecting restora- "tions? . . ."

Overcome by grief and anxiety, he threw himself on his couch, and was shortly after roused to be made acquainted with the march of the flank of Blucher's corps, on which he had for some time been secretly keeping watch. He rose to put into action that new spring of resources, energy and glory, which will for ever consecrate the names of Champ-Aubert, Montmerail, Chateau-Thierry, Vaux-Champ, Nangis, Montereau, Craone, &c. These marvellous successes dismayed Alexander and the English, and suggested to them the expediency of treating: they might indeed have entirely changed the face of affairs, had not Napoleon's designs been thwarted by accidents beyond the reach of human calculation. For example, the important orders that were not communicated to the Viceroy, the defection of Murat, the indolence and negligence of certain Chiefs, and finally, even the successful movements of the French, which, by separating the Emperor of Austria from the other Allied Sovereigns, left the latter entirely free to plan the abdication of Fontainebleau, an event which will ever be celebrated in the history of our destiny and our moral character.

Philosophic thinkers, painters of the human heart, turn your eyes to Fontainebleau, and contemplate the fall of the greatest of monarchs!

Observe how the retinue by which the unfortunate hero was surrounded,—those whom he had loaded with favours, honours, and riches,—at the first frown of fortune, forsook, betrayed, and even sought to insult him! . . . . Mark how the first among them in rank, favour and confidence—he whom the great Prince had vainly sought to inspire with exalted sentiment, by treating him as his companion and his friend,—mark how this man degraded himself to the level of the Mameluke, whose native manners rendered him perhaps more excusable, and who thought it perfectly natural to forsake his fallen master.

At Fontainebleau, the crisis being fulfilled, and while Napoleon was earnestly engaged, this favourite companion presented himself before him to solicit permission to proceed to Paris, only, as he said, for a short time, and for the purpose of settling some business, after which, he declared his intention of returning to the Emperor, never again to leave him. But Napoleon could read the secrets of the human mind, and the individual here alluded to, had no sooner withdrawn, than the Emperor breaking from the subject on which he was engaged, said to the person with whom he had been conversing:—"There he goes to seal his own de-"gradation; and in spite of all his protestations, he "will never come back again." He spoke truly; the deserter hastened to greet the first rays of the rising sun; and no sooner had it shone upon him,

than he renounced his benefactor, his friend, and master! . . . . In speaking of the Emperor, he was even known to use the expressions: *that man!* And yet Napoleon so readily forgave human weakness, and was so superior to every feeling of rancour and resentment, that on his return from Elba, he expressed regret at not seeing the individual, who had acted so treacherous a part, adding, with a smile :—" The rogue is afraid of me, I " suppose; but he has no reason to be so. The " only punishment I should have inflicted on him, " would have been to require him to appear before " me in his new costume. They tell me he looks " even uglier than usual."

And how many instances of private turpitude might not be mentioned! I myself can attest, that an individual who had been most remarkable for his base conduct on returning from Fontainebleau, appeared one of the most forward at the Tuileries, on the 20th of March. He appeared very much disconcerted at the accidental or intended solitude in which he was left by all the rest. A witness of his late misconduct, burying the recollection of past troubles in the present joy, hastened to him and relieved him from his embarrassment. Such generosity cost little at that moment:

Aux cœurs heureux les vertus sont faciles.

I refer to the Manuscript of 1814, for a picture

of these mortifying events.* The reader may there learn . . . . . But no, he will learn nothing new . . . . . In all circumstances, at all times, and in all countries, men, and particularly courtiers, are ever the same; and it must be recollected that by this time, Napoleon's camp had become a court.—Let not these men say, that their conduct was dictated by regard for the welfare and interest of their country. The thought of securing

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* Baron Fain, first cabinet secretary to Napoleon, has just published a volume entitled, *The Manuscript of* 1814. This work presents an animated and interesting detail, of the important but imperfectly known events of the period, and in particular of the short but immortal campaign of 1814. It is an episode of miracles, in which Napoleon throughout appears supernatural in the resources of genius, the energy of mind, the celerity of motion, the steadiness of views, and the sublimity of courage which he there evinced. Nothing can be compared with the prodigies he performed, except indeed, the indefatigable ardour of a handful of brave men, who, as if strangers to the wants of nature, when deprived of food and rest, seemed to multiply before the enemy's legions, were incessantly engaged and always victorious.

Baron Fain has presented to us a record of national glory, and he is justly entitled to the gratitude of his countrymen. In his picture of war, confusion and trouble, the characteristic traits of the mind and heart of Napoleon, frequently shine forth with lustre. To me, who have especially devoted my attention to these latter objects, it is peculiarly gratifying, while at the same time, it must be curious to all readers to trace the correspondence between details recorded by two men, total strangers to each other, and alluding to periods and circumstances wholly distinct.

the undisturbed enjoyment of the wealth and honours they had acquired, in their minds superseded every patriotic consideration. But history will be just. I say history, for the bulk of the present generation cannot even claim this sad honour. Where was our indignation? Where was our reprobation authentically and solemnly pronounced? .... And let it be understood, that this is a point wholly unconnected with political considerations. The question is not what cause these men supported; but merely, what moral principle they professed. But it must not be supposed that discontented misanthropy would lead me to draw a picture discouraging to all hearts, and to conclude, by the proscription of all mankind. By no means:—I am well aware that the moment of great trials is that of great extremities; and that amidst the basest passions, the most brilliant heroism and noble virtue shine conspicuous. Therefore, honoured be those veteran bands, whose bitter tears attested their sincere sorrow! Honoured be those innumerable subaltern officers, to whom a word would have been the signal for shedding every drop of their blood! Honoured be the generous peasantry, who presented to our troops their last morsel of bread; and disregarding their own privations, parted with all to aid the brave defenders of their country! Honoured be those generous sentiments, that were expressed by the citizens of every class, sex, and age! If, on the

one side, the heart is roused to indignation, it finds a delicious source of gratification on the other! . . .

At St. Helena, the Emperor dictated an account of the events of Fontainebleau, and his removal to the Island of Elba; but my memory does not enable me to quote any of the facts thus detailed. I took no notes of them, because, with a view of abridging my own labour, I laid down the rule of passing over those subjects that were dictated to others, being assured that they would be faithfully recorded. Besides, the narrative to which I have just alluded, is destined for publication. I shall, therefore, merely subjoin a few particulars which, I presume, are not included in it, and which are collected from Napoleon's conversations, or other authentic sources.

When the disasters of 1814 were apparent, when the danger was imminent, particularly after the entrance of the Allies into Paris, many of the French Generals began to waver. Those, in whom selfishness prevailed over patriotism; those, who preferred to retire from the fatigues of war, rather than to obey the dictates of duty, honour and glory, urged on the catastrophe, instead of seeking to avert it. The most distinguished Chiefs ventured to advise the abdication, and declared it to be indispensable. Some even went so far as to hint to the Emperor, that they could not answer for the consequences of the dissatisfaction and indignation which the soldiers manifested towards

him ; while, on the contrary, as Napoleon himself said, " Such was the attachment of the troops, " and the devotedness of the officers, that if I had " made known the machinations that were plot- " ting, I certainly should have endangered those " who were guilty of such misrepresentation. A " single word from me would have sacrificed " them." Napoleon reviewed the troops : their acclamations were enthusiastic and general. It appeared as though adversity served only to render the Emperor the more dear to them, for their attachment was never so decidedly expressed. " It was impossible it could be otherwise," said Napoleon, " such was the identity of these brave " men with me, and such our mutual sympathy, I " never entertained a doubt of their attachment."

In this extremity, Napoleon profoundly reflected on what course it was advisable for him to pursue. He yet possessed forty or 50,000 troops, the best and most devoted in the world ; he might without risk, have overawed or dismissed the faithless Generals. In this state of things, three different measures, by turns, presented themselves to his mind.

The first was to return upon Paris ; for he imagined that no General on earth would be bold enough to give him battle with that immense capital in his rear. " At my command," said the Emperor, " the whole population would have risen. I " should suddenly have found my forces recruited,

" by the addition of one or 200,000 men. But the " Allies, on retiring, might have burnt the capital; " and this disaster would have been accounted " my work. It is true, the burning of Paris might " have proved in reality the salvation of France, as " the burning of Moscow was the salvation of Rus- " sia; but such sacrifices can only be made by " the parties interested."

The second idea which suggested itself to the Emperor's mind, was to proceed to Italy, to form a junction with the Viceroy. "But this," said Napoleon, " would have been a desperate course, " without the chance of obtaining an adequate re- " sult. It would have removed the theatre of con- " flict to too remote a point. Public enthusiasm " would have had time to subside; and we should " no longer have been fighting in France, on whose " sacred soil alone we could hope to work the pro- " digies that had become indispensable."

Neither of these two measures would have been practicable. Only the third course, therefore, remained, and this was, to continue on the defensive, to dispute every foot of ground, and to maintain the war until new chances should arise. The stupor, which the presence of the invaders had produced, would soon be dispelled; the miseries they created, would soon render them the objects of execration; the national enthusiasm would revive; and the Allies would find their graves in the land which they had presumed to violate. But this

must necessarily have been the work of time ; in a word, success was doubtful, or, at least, remote ; while the sufferings of the people were certain, immediate, and incalculable. The noble mind of Napoleon was moved; and he resolved to abdicate.

Meanwhile, he despatched to the Emperor Alexander a deputation of Marshals, among whom was the Duke of Ragusa, one of those to whom he was most fondly attached. The Deputation was instructed to propose the abdication of Napoleon, in favour of his son. The Emperor thus hoped to save France, to secure her independence, and the duration of her existing institutions. The Emperor Alexander, who had several days before publicly declared, that he would not treat either with Napoleon or any of the members of his family, nevertheless discussed the subject contradictorily with that party of the Senate, who proposed the abdication. The Marshals spoke vehemently, and in the name of the whole army. Alexander's determination was shaken, and the party favourable to the Regency, seemed likely to prevail, when intelligence arrived of the defection of the Duke of Ragusa ; and this circumstance confirmed Alexander in his previous resolution. The event came upon him like a ray of light: the army, then, is not unanimous, thought he ! From that moment, setting aside all reserve, he declared himself to be inflexible. In this state of things, Napoleon was

surrounded, urged and harassed to sign his positive and unconditional abdication. He yielded, after a great internal struggle, and dictated the act of abdication, in the following terms:—

"The Allied Powers having proclaimed that the "Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the "re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the "Emperor, faithful to his oath, renounces for him-"self and his heirs, the thrones of France and "Italy, and declares, that there is no sacrifice, "even that of life, which he is not ready to make "for the interests of France."

This declaration, which the Allies were far from expecting in so absolute a form, smoothed away every difficulty, and the Marshals returned with what is called the treaty of Fontainebleau, which I shall presently insert.

I find in Baron Fain's *Manuscript of* 1814, a complete explanation of certain remarks made by the Emperor, which I noted down at the time, without exactly comprehending their meaning. In the fifth part of this Journal, the Emperor, alluding to the treaty of Fontainebleau, says, "I will "have nothing to do with that treaty; I disclaim "it. Far from being proud of it, I blush for it. It "was discussed for me, and against my will," &c. And, on another occasion, he says, "When the "history of the events of Fontainebleau comes to "be known, it will afford ample room for surprise." The Manuscript of 1814, proves that Napoleon

had, indeed, nothing to do with the treaty of Fontainebleau. The utmost exertions were employed to prevail on him to sign the treaty; and he was, at length, only influenced by the public considerations that were adduced in support of it. He thought it both degrading and useless to sign the treaty. Having survived his greatness, he wished henceforth to live as a private individual; and he was mortified to reflect that the vast sacrifice that had been made, for the peace of the world, should be mingled with pecuniary arrangements. "Of "what use is a treaty," said he, "since they will "not settle the interests of France with me? If "only my personal interests are concerned, there "is no need of a treaty. I am conquered; I yield "to the fate of arms. All I ask is, that I may not "be accounted a prisoner of war; and for that a "mere cartel is sufficient!"

Every endeavour to turn his thoughts to his personal situation, his existence, and future wants, proved unavailing. To all such suggestions, he energetically replied, "What matters it? A horse, "and a crown a day, are all that I want."

I, for my part, can bear witness, that the Emperor infinitely regretted having ratified the treaty of Fontainebleau; and this was not the only decision, of the period, which weighed heavily on his mind. He also very much regretted having yielded, when in his position at St. Dizier and Doulevant, to the various representations and suggestions,

by which he was assailed, and which induced him, against his inclination, to make a counter-march upon Paris. "Here I wanted firmness," said he; "I should have followed up my intention of advancing to the Rhine, collecting reinforcements "from all the garrisons on my way, and exciting "the rise of the peasantry. By this means, I "should soon have possessed an immense army. "Murat would immediately have rejoined me; "and he and the Viceroy would have made me "master of Vienna, if the Allies had presumed to "deprive me of Paris. But no; the enemy would "have shrunk from the dangers with which he "would have been surrounded. The allied Sovereigns would have regarded it as a favour to "have been permitted to retire. The storm "that assailed us would have subsided. Peace "would have been concluded, and sincerely "maintained; for all were exhausted; all had "wounds to heal! . . . . . Abroad, war could no "longer have been thought of; and at home, such "a result must have had the effect of destroying "all illusion, frustrating every evil design, and permanently blending the opinions, views, and interests of all parties. I should once more have "seated myself triumphantly on the throne, surrounded by my invincible bands. The heroic "and faithful portion of the people, would have "regulated those who had wavered; and the men "who had shewn themselves so eager for repose,

"might have enjoyed it. A new generation of "chiefs would have remoulded our character. "Every effort would have been directed to the in- "ternal welfare of the country; and France would "have been happy!"

When speaking of the confusion created in Paris, by the approach of the Allies; the dejection, to use no stronger a term, that was evinced by the upper classes; the good spirit and enthusiasm manifested by the great body of the people, who were ready to fight, if they could have procured arms,—I observed that the departure of the Empress had produced a fatal effect on the public mind. I mentioned, as a singular circumstance, that the young King of Rome, contrary to custom, obstinately refused to quit the palace: he wept bitterly, and it was found necessary to carry him away by force. I also added that it was universally reported that the Empress wished to remain, and that the Council was inclined to second her wishes, until precise orders were received from the Emperor, directing her to quit Paris, in case of urgent danger on the part of the enemy. "Yes,'" said the Emperor, "and those orders were very necessary. The Em- "press was young, and totally inexperienced. "Had she been capable of personal decision, my "directions would have been quite the contrary. "Paris then would have been her proper post. "But I foresaw the intrigues of which she would "be the object; and I wished to prevent at Paris,

" what subsequently occurred at Orleans. There, " the men who were planning the Regency, in the " expectation of ruling under the Empress, pre- " vented her from joining me. What fatal conse- " quences were thus produced! Would to heaven " that I had also despatched timely orders, direct- " ing her to quit Orleans!"

It is certain that at Fontainebleau, Napoleon was, almost at one and the same moment, the victim of every kind of mental distress, with which man can possibly be assailed. Subdued by defection, and not by force of arms, he felt all that could rouse the indignation of a lofty mind, or break an affectionate heart. His friends forsook him; his servants betrayed him; one surrendered up his army; another his treasury. The men whom he had reared, maintained, and loaded with favours, were those who wrought his overthrow. The members of the Senate, who, only the day before, had supplied him profusely with conscripts to oppose the enemy, scrupled not to become the instruments of that very enemy. Under the impulse of foreign bayonets, they imputed to him as a crime that which was their own work; and basely broke the idol which they had themselves created, and so servilely worshipped. What a depth of disgrace and degradation! .... Finally (and this stroke Napoleon felt more severely than all the rest), his wife and child were carried away from him; and in defiance of treaties and laws, in oppo-

sition to all moral principle, he was never allowed to see them more! . . .

It appears that Napoleon, oppressed by this weight of affliction, surrounded by this odious turpitude, in his utter contempt of human nature, and all things connected with this world, formed the resolution of ridding himself of life. A letter has been preserved, written in his own hand to the Empress, in which he says that the moment has arrived when she must prepare her mind for every thing; that all is possible, *even the death of the Emperor*. This was, doubtless, an allusion to the mysterious event of the night of the 12th of April, which was wrapt in profound secrecy. The Manuscript of 1814, however, contains some particulars relative to this occurrence, which, if they be correct, will not leave the furious enemies of Napoleon even the satisfaction of repeating the stupid and vulgar remark, *that he had not courage to die*; . . for according to the Manuscript, it appears, on the contrary, that *he could not die!* This is not the least extraordinary event in Napoleon's career. His remark, *Heaven has ordained that I shall live!* and the calm and noble resignation, which from that moment succeeded, appear truly sublime.

Napoleon's celebrated farewell address to his troops, and his last embrace of those eagles which he had immortalized, are well known. A Prussian diplomatist, who was present, has assured me that the scene produced an impression on him that

time can never obliterate. He added, that the English Commissioner, who stood near him, and who had previously been an inveterate enemy of Napoleon, was so deeply moved, that he shed tears.

Such were the sentiments of respect and veneration naturally inspired by Napoleon, that in spite of the danger and inconvenience occasioned by his presence in France, no one presumed to hasten his departure; and he was allowed full time to make all the arrangements he wished.

The treaty of abdication is dated the 11th of April, and Napoleon did not quit Fontainebleau until the 20th, nine days after. Throughout the first part of his journey, he was the object of universal respect, and often of the warmest and most affectionate interest.*

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* The Emperor departed from Fontainebleau on the 20th of April, 1814, escorted by a party of horse grenadiers. Count Bertrand was with him in the carriage.

On the evening of the 20th, he reached Briarre.

On the 21st, he arrived at Nevers.

On the 22d, at Rouanne.

On the 23d, at Lyons.

On the 24th, at Montelimart.

On the 25th, at Orgon.

On the 26th, he slept near Luc.

On the 27th, at Frejus.

On the 28th, at eight in the evening, he embarked on board the English frigate, *The Undaunted,* commanded by Captain Usher.

Hitherto, foreigners seemed to have formed no idea of the spirit that prevailed in France, or of the real feelings of the people, with regard to the Emperor. However, it was deemed prudent to arrange matters, so that Napoleon should reach Lyons in the night; or, I rather believe, it was intended to prevent his reaching that city at all. I received the following particulars from an English gentleman, one of those who had been long detained in France, and who happened, at the period in question, to be residing at Lyons. My informant, and the Austrian General, went out in disguise, and mingled with the crowd that had assembled to see the dethroned Monarch pass by. They expected to be much amused with the imprecations of which, they concluded, he would be the object. But, as soon as the Emperor appeared, deep silence prevailed among the multitude; and an old woman, to all appearance above the common class, habited in deep mourning, and with a countenance full of enthusiasm, rushed forward to the door of the Emperor's carriage. "Sire," said she, with an air of solemnity, "may the blessing of "heaven attend you. Endeavour to make your- "self happy. They tear you from us; but our "hearts are with you wheresoever you go." The Austrian General, quite disconcerted, said to his companion, "Let us begone; I have no patience "with this old mad woman. The people have not "common sense."

A little beyond Lyons, the General in Chief, of the army of the East, appeared on the road; and Napoleon, alighting from his carriage, walked with him for a considerable way. When the General had taken his leave, one of the allied Commissioners ventured to express his surprise that the Emperor should have treated him with such an appearance of friendship and confidence. "Why should I not?" inquired Napoleon.—"Your Majesty is, perhaps, "not aware of his conduct?"—"What has he "done?"—"Sire, he entered into an understanding "with us several weeks ago."—"It was even so," said the Emperor, "he whom I had intrusted with "the defence of France on this point, sacrificed and "betrayed the country." After many complaints of the perfidy of men in whom he had reposed confidence, he concluded by saying;—"The Mar- "shal was no longer the soldier.—His early courage "and virtues had raised him above the multitude; "but honours, dignities, and fortune, again re- "duced him to the common level. The conqueror "of Castiglione might have left behind him a name "dear to his country. But France will execrate "the memory of the traitor of Lyons, and all "who acted as he did, unless, indeed, their fu- "ture services shall make amends for their past "wrongs."

This circumstance dictated the famous proclamation which the Emperor issued on his return. "Frenchmen," said he, "the defection of the

" Duke of Castiglione, left Lyons defenceless and " at the mercy of the enemy. The army, of which " I had intrusted that Chief with the command, " was, from the number of its battalions, and the " courage and patriotism of its troops, capable of " defeating the corps of the Austrian army op- " posed to it, and advancing on the rear of the left " flank of the enemy's force that threatened Paris. " The victories of Champ-Aubert, Montmirail, " Chateau-Thierry, Vaux-Champ, Mormans, Mon- " tereau, Craone, Rheims, Arcis-sur-Aube, and " St. Dizier; the rising of the brave peasantry " of Lorraine, Champagne, Alsace, the Franche- " Comté, and Burgundy; the position which I had " taken up in the rear of the enemy, intercepting " his magazines, parks of reserve, convoys, and " equipages,—all had thrown the invading forces " into a desperate situation. The French people " never had the prospect of becoming more power- " ful. The enemy's picked corps would have been " irretrievably lost, and would have found their " graves in those plains which they so mercilessly " ravaged, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa " delivered up the capital, and disorganized the " army. The unlooked-for conduct of these two " generals, who at once betrayed their country, " their prince, and their benefactor, changed the " fate of the war. Such was the disastrous situa- " tion of the enemy, after the affair which took " place before Paris, that he was absolutely destitute

" of ammunition, by being separated from his " parks of reserve,"* &c.

Napoleon was less favourably received in proportion as he advanced to Provence; for there the machinations of his enemies had anticipated his arrival. He had escaped the ambush of Maubreuil, but he could not avoid that of Orgon; and this part of his dictated narrative is not the least curious.

On his arrival at the place of embarkation, he found two vessels in readiness to receive him; the one French, and the other English. Napoleon went on board the English frigate, observing, that he would never allow it to be said that a Frenchman had conveyed him away.

Such is a brief account of the great event, the details of which, dictated by Napoleon himself, will, as I have already mentioned, hereafter be presented to the public. France has been inundated with pamphlets on the subject, so full of falsehood and absurdity, that every honest and sensible man now blushes for having given credit to them, or having had even the courage to read them.

The following is the treaty of Fontainebleau, to which I have already alluded. It was carefully suppressed at the time it was drawn up, was

* A friend of mine, travelling in Germany, assures us that he received from the commander of the Russian parks, several years after the event, a confirmation of the accuracy of the assertion contained in the above proclamation.

never published in the Moniteur, and remained long unknown. It is to be found only in official collections, and even there the copies differ one from another. I presume, therefore, that its insertion here will not be deemed superfluous. It is intimately connected with the subject of which I have just been treating, and many of its articles are still the topics of daily conversation; and it must of course be satisfactory to be enabled to discuss with a full knowledge of facts.

TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEAU.

"Article I.—His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion over the French Empire, and the kingdom of Italy, as well as over every other country.

"II.—Their Majesties the Emperor Napoleon and Empress Maria Louisa, shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lives.

"The mother, brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces of the Emperor, shall also retain, wherever they may reside, the titles of Princes of the Emperor's family.

"III.—The Isle of Elba, adopted by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon as his place of residence, shall form, during his life, a separate principality, which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property.

"There shall be besides granted, in full property to the Emperor Napoleon, an annual revenue of 2,000,000 francs in rent charge in the great book of France, of which 1,000,000 shall be in reversion to the Empress.

"IV.—All the Powers promise to employ their good offices in causing to be respected by the Barbary Powers, the flag and territory of the Isle of Elba; for which purpose, the relations with the Barbary Powers, shall be assimilated to those of France.

"V.—The Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, shall be granted in full property and sovereignty to her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa. They shall pass to the Prince her son, and to his descendants in the right line. The Prince shall, henceforth, take the title of Prince of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.

"VI.—There shall be reserved in the territories renounced by this treaty, to his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, for himself and his family, domains, rent charges, in the great book of France, producing an annual revenue, clear of all deductions and charges, of 2,500,000 francs. These domains, or rents, shall belong, in full property, to be disposed of as they think fit, to the Princes and Princesses of the Emperor's family, and shall be divided amongst them in such manner, that the revenues of each shall be in the following proportion, viz:—

	Francs.
To Madame Mère	300,000
To King Joseph and his Queen	500,000
To King Louis	200,000
To the Queen Hortense and her children	400,000
To King Jerome and his Queen	500,000
To the Princess Eliza	300,000
To the Princess Paulina	300,000

"The Princes and Princesses of the family of the Emperor Napoleon, shall moreover retain all the property, moveable and immoveable, of every kind whatever, which they may possess by private right; together with the rents which they hold also, as private individuals, in the great book of France, or the Monte-Napoleone of Milan.

"VII.—The annual pension of the Empress Josephine shall be reduced to 1,000,000 in domains, or inscriptions in the great book of France. She shall continue to enjoy, in full property, all her private fortune, moveable and immoveable, with power to dispose of it conformably to the French Laws.

"VIII.—There shall be granted to Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment out of France.

"IX.—The property which the Emperor Napoleon possesses in France, either as extraordinary domain, or private domain, will remain attached to the crown.

"Of the funds vested by the Emperor in the great book of France, in the French bank, in the *Actions*

des Forêts, or in any other manner, and which his Majesty resigns to the crown, there shall be reserved a capital, not exceeding 2,000,000 of francs, to be expended in gratuities, in favour of the individuals whose names shall be contained in a list signed by the Emperor Napoleon, and which shall be transmitted to the French Government.

" X.—All the crown diamonds shall remain in France.

" XI.—His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, shall return to the treasury, and to the other public funds, all the sums and effects, that may have been taken therefrom by his orders, with the exception of what has been appropriated from the civil list.

" XII.—The debts of the household of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, such as they may be at the time of the signature of the present treaty, shall be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public treasury to the civil list, according to a list which shall be signed by a Commissioner appointed for that purpose.

" XIII.—The obligations of the Monte-Napoleone, of Milan, towards all creditors, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, shall be punctually fulfilled, without any change being made in this respect.

" XIV.—There shall be granted all the necessary passports for the free passage of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, the Empress, the Princes

and Princesses, and all the persons of their suites, who wish to accompany them, or fix their abode in foreign countries, as well as for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects, belonging to them.

" The Allied Powers will, in consequence, furnish officers and men for escorts.

" XV.—The French Imperial Guard, shall furnish a detachment of from 1200 to 1500 men, of all arms, to serve as an escort to the Emperor to St. Tropez, the place of his embarkation.

" XVI.—A brig and the necessary transport vessels, shall be fitted out to convey to the place of his destination, his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and his household. The brig shall belong, in full property, to his Majesty the Emperor.

" XVII.—The Emperor shall be allowed to take with him, and retain, as his guard, 400 men, volunteers and officers, as well as sub-officers and soldiers.

" XVIII.—Every Frenchman who may follow the Emperor Napoleon, or his family, shall be held to have forfeited his rights as a Frenchman, should he not return to France within three years; at least, if he be not included in the exceptions which the French Government reserves to itself to grant, after the expiration of that period.

" XIX.—The Polish troops of all arms, in the service of France, shall be at liberty to return home, and shall retain their arms and baggage, as

a testimony of their honourable services. The officers, sub-officers, and soldiers, shall retain the decorations which have been granted to them, and the pensions annexed to these decorations.

"XX.—The Allied Powers guarantee the execution of the articles of the present treaty, and promise to obtain its adoption and guarantee by France.

"XXI.—The present act shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris within ten days, or sooner, if possible.

"Done at Paris, April 11, 1814.

(Signed) CAULINCOURT, Duke of Vicenza;
Marshal MACDONALD, Duke of Tarento;
Marshal NEY, Duke of Elchingen;*
Prince METTERNICH."

The same articles were signed separately and under the same date, by Count Nesselrode on behalf of Russia, and Baron Hardenberg, on behalf of Prussia.

DECLARATION OF ACCESSION IN THE NAME OF LOUIS XVIII.

"The undersigned, Minister and Secretary of State for the department of Foreign Affairs, having submitted to the King the inquiry which their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of the Allied Powers

* It is worthy of remark, that Marshal Ney does not here take the title of Prince of the Moskowa, from delicacy to the Emperor Alexander.

have been ordered by their sovereigns to make, relative to the treaty of the 11th of April, to which the Provisional Government has acceded; his Majesty has been pleased to authorize him in his name, to declare, that the clauses of the treaty, in so far as France is concerned, shall be faithfully executed. The undersigned has consequently the honour to communicate this declaration to their excellencies.

(Signed) "The Prince of BENEVENTO.

"*Paris, May* 31, 1814."

The great European triumvirate drew up the treaty of Fontainebleau, England acceded to it, a declaration made in the name of the King of France, promised it fulfilment in so far as he was concerned; and yet, in spite of all these guarantees, it may be said that scarcely any of the articles were observed. Certainly, it would be difficult to conceive a more flagrant violation of good faith or a more absolute compromise of the august signatures, which, it was to be expected, each party would have been individually interested in preserving unsullied and sacred. On these manifest violations, was grounded the moral justification of Napoleon's enterprise in 1815. This opinion was pretty generally adopted: it was advocated by the most distinguished members of the English Parliament, those indefatigable supporters of great principles, and by eminent statesmen of all countries. I may add to these high authorities, an individual

opinion, which though somewhat comically expressed, was not perhaps the less just. An Austrian gentleman of rank, who was in Paris in 1815, and who was a furious enemy of Napoleon, called on me just at the time when the Emperor's advance to the capital began to produce a great sensation. The Austrian had already determined to set off, and he said to me with all possible gravity and sincerity: "Certainly, he hitherto occupied the "throne of France as an usurper: that's unques- "tionable! But," added he, quibbling with himself diplomatically, "if he should now conquer "France, after all the monarchs of Europe have "acknowledged him as a sovereign, and have en- "titled him to go to war by not observing the "conditions they entered into, the case would be "very different. And, upon my word! . . . . for "my own part at least . . . . I think in that case "... there might be some ground for maintaining "that he has become legitimate. At least, I think "I should myself be inclined to consider him so."

Letter from Lord Castlereagh to Lord Bathurst, relative to the Treaty of Fontainebleau. (Paris, April 15, 1814.*)*

"..... I shall, therefore, on the present occasion, confine myself to an explanation of what has passed with respect to the future destination and settlement of Napoleon and his family.

"Your Lordship has been already informed, by Lord Cathcart, of the Act of Abdication which

was passed by Buonaparte, on the 4th instant, and of the assurance which was given him by the Emperor of Russia, and the Provisional Government, of a pecuniary provision of six millions of francs, with a safe asylum in the Island of Elba. The act in question, was deposited in the hands of M. de Caulincourt, and Marshals Ney and Macdonald, to be given up upon the due execution of engagements on the part of the Allies, with respect to the proposed arrangement. These persons were also authorized to agree to an armistice, and to settle such a line of demarcation, as might be satisfactory to the Allies, and, in the mean time, prevent an unnecessary effusion of blood.

" On my arrival, I found this arrangement on the point of execution. A convention had been discussed, and would have, in fact, been signed in the course of the day by the Russian Minister, had not the approach of the Allied Ministers been announced. The motives for accelerating the immediate conclusion of this act, were the inconvenience, if not the danger of Napoleon's remaining at Fontainebleau, surrounded by troops, who still, in a considerable degree, remained faithful to him; the apprehension of intrigues in the army and in the capital; and the importance attached, by a considerable portion of the officers, to some arrangement favourable to their chief, in satisfaction of their personal honour, before they left him.

" On the night of my arrival, the four Ministers

had a conference with the Prince de Benevento, on the subject of the proposed convention, to which I stated my objections, desiring, at the same time, to be understood as not urging them then, at the hazard of the internal tranquillity of France, nor in impeachment of what was due, in good faith, to the assurance given, under the exigency of the moment, by Russia.

"The Prince de Benevento admitted the weight of many of the objections stated, but declared that he did consider it, on the part of the Provisional Government, as an object of the first importance, to avoid any thing that might assume the character of a civil war, even for the shortest time:—that he also found some such measure necessary, to make the army pass over in a temper to be made use of. Upon these declarations, and the Count de Nesselrode's, that the Emperor, his master, had found it necessary, in the absence of the Allies, to act for the best, in their name as well as his own; I withdrew any further opposition to the principle of the measure, suggesting only some alterations in the details. I desired, however, to decline, on the part of my Government, being more than an acceding party to the treaty, and declared that the Act of Accession on the part of Great Britain, should not go beyond the territorial arrangements proposed in the Treaty. My objections to our unnecessarily mixing in its forms, especially in the recognition of Napoleon's title under present circumstances, were considered

as perfectly reasonable; and I now enclose the protocol and note, which will explain the extent to which I have taken it upon me to give assurances on the part of my Court.

"At my suggestion, the recognition of the imperial titles in the family, were limited to their respective lives, for which there was a precedent in the case of the King of Poland, when he became Elector of Saxony.

"To the arrangement in favour of the Empress, I not only felt no objection, but considered it due to the distinguished sacrifice of domestic feelings, which the Emperor of Austria was making to the cause of Europe. *I should have wished to substitute another position, in lieu of Elba, for the seat of Napoleon's retirement;* but none, having the quality of security on which he insisted, seemed disposable, to which equal objections did not occur; and I did not feel that I could encourage the alternative which M. de Caulincourt assured me Buonaparte repeatedly mentioned, namely, an asylum in England.

"On the same night, the Allied Ministers had a conference with M. de Caulincourt, and the Marshals, at which I assisted. The treaty was gone through, and agreed to with alterations; it has been since signed and ratified, and Buonaparte will commence his movement towards the south tomorrow, or the day following.

(Signed) "CASTLEREAGH."

I thought it advisable to transcribe this letter; it throws a complete light on the treaty of the 11th of April, of the particulars of which I was ignorant, even when at St. Helena; and it presents two points to which I particularly wish to call attention. It explains the observation which fell from the Emperor, when I observed to him, that on an important occasion he seemed to have forgotten the acknowledgment of his title by the English at Fontainebleau; when he merely replied that it was done on purpose. (Part V.) Now, I learn from the letter above quoted, that Lord Castlereagh studiously avoided the recognition; but this is no impeachment of the scrupulous correctness of Napoleon's assertions.

The second point, which impartiality induces me to advert to is, that Lord Castlereagh, in his letter, speaks of the alternative offered by Napoleon, to retire to England in default of the cession of the Isle of Elba. At a few pages further on (Nov. 16), it will be found that Napoleon, on the contrary, reproaches Lord Castlereagh with having caused it to be insinuated to him, that the adoption of England, as a place of residence, would be the preferable course. These two statements are certainly quite contradictory; but regard for impartiality, as I before observed, has induced me to insert them. The reader is, therefore, free to decide as he may think fit; for, as I have often heard the Emperor say, one man's word is as good

as another's. For my own part, my choice is soon determined: I adopt the words of Napoleon, in spite of the assertions of Lord Castlereagh. I still bear in mind the erroneous declarations of Lord Whitworth, which have been mentioned in the course of this Journal; the scandalous assertions respecting Napoleon, made by Lord Castlereagh in Parliament, or in public assemblies; the garbled documents, on the authority of which Murat's deposition was decreed; and the numerous denials so confidently expressed by Lord Bathurst in the House of Lords, the falsehood of which was manifest to every individual at St. Helena, and occasioned embarrassment even to Sir Hudson Lowe. I shall, therefore, adhere to the opinion I have formed, until I find good reason to alter it.

The Sword of Frederick the Great.—On Napoleon's Marriage it was hoped that the Lion would slumber.—Tormenting Conduct of the Governor.—Our Lot enviable, even amidst our Misery.

13th.—This morning, when I was in the Emperor's apartment, being unemployed, I took a fancy to examine Frederick the Great's large watch, which hangs beside the chimney piece. This led the Emperor to say, "I have been the "possessor of glorious and valuable relics. I had "the sword of Frederick the Great; and the Spa- "niards presented to me at the Tuileries, the sword

" of Francis I. This was a high compliment, and " it must have cost them some sacrifice. The " Turks and Persians have also sent me arms, " which were said to have belonged to Gengiskan, " Tamerlane, Scha-Nadir, and I know not whom; " but I attached importance not to the fact, but to " the intention."

I expressed my astonishment that he had not endeavoured to keep Frederick's sword. " Why, " I had my own," said he, smiling, and gently pinching my ear. He was right: I certainly made a very stupid observation.

Afterwards, alluding to his second marriage, he said, that he had intended to make choice of a Frenchwoman, and it would have been well if he had done so. " Such an union would have been " eminently national," he observed. " France was " sufficiently great, and her Monarch sufficiently " powerful, to set aside every consideration of " foreign policy. Besides, among Sovereigns, the " ties of blood are always made to yield to politi- " cal interests; hence what scandalous violations " of moral feeling are frequently exhibited to the " world. Another objection that may be urged " against marriages of this kind is, the admission " of a foreign Princess into state secrets, which " she may be tempted to betray; and if a sove- " reign place trust in his connexions abroad, he " may find that he had set his foot on an abyss " covered with flowers. In short, it is absurd to

" suppose that such alliances can guarantee or en-
" sure any advantage."

The announcement of the Emperor's second marriage, was a source of joy to those prudent citizens who looked forward to the future. A few days after he had formed his determination, Napoleon said to one of his Ministers (the Duke Decrès), in a moment of good humoured familiarity, " Well; it appears that people are very " much pleased with my intended marriage."— " Yes, Sire."—" I suppose they expect the lion " will slumber."—" To say the truth, Sire, we " are somewhat inclined to form that expectation." —" Well," resumed Napoleon, after a few moments' silence, " it is a mistake : and it is not the " fault of the lion either. Slumber would be as " sweet to him as to any other. But do not you " see, that while I am, to all appearance, *incessantly* " *attacking*, I am, nevertheless, always engaged in " *self defence ?*"

The correctness of this assertion might have been doubted, while the terrible conflict lasted; but the joy and indiscretion of the triumphant party, have sufficiently confirmed its truth. Some boasted of having formed the determination of prosecuting the war until they had accomplished the destruction of their enemy : others* have unblushingly proclaimed, that the plot for Napoleon's

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* *Austrian Observer*, 1817 or 1818.

overthrow was hatched under the mask of alliance and friendship!

During this and the two succeeding days, my attention was wholly occupied by a contest which concerned me personally, and which has had so much influence on my subsequent destiny, that I cannot pass it over in silence. Ever since my removal to Longwood, I had had, as a servant, a free mulatto, with whom I was very well satisfied; but Sir Hudson Lowe suddenly took it into his head to remove him.

Prompted by the determination of tormenting us, by every means his imagination could suggest, or (as many are inclined to believe,) following up a perfidiously laid plan, he sent the English officer on duty, to inform me, that he had conceived some doubts as to the propriety of my being attended by a native of the Island; and that he intended to remove my servant, and send me one of his own choosing. My answer was brief and positive; "The "Governor," said I, "has it in his power to send "away my servant if he pleases; but he may spare "himself the trouble of sending me one of his "choosing. I am daily learning better and better "how to dispense with the comforts of life. I "can, if necessary, serve myself: this additional "privation will be but slightly felt, amidst the suf- "ferings to which we are subjected."

This circumstance occasioned the interchange of a vast number of messages and notes. Sir

Hudson Lowe wrote three or four times every day to the officer on duty, directing him to make various communications to me. He observed, that he did not understand my scruples, and could not conceive why I should object to any servant he might send me. . . . . One of his selecting was as good as any other. . . . . The offer of making the choice himself, was merely a mark of attention, &c.

I was distressed to see the poor officer thus mercilessly sent to and fro; and I was also heartily tired of the business myself. I therefore begged that he would spare himself further trouble, by assuring the Governor, that to all his communications, my reply must invariably be the same; namely, that he might send away my servant if he pleased; but that he must not think of obliging me to receive one of his choosing; that he might place me in garrison by force, but never with my own consent. While this correspondence was pending, my servant was sent for, interrogated, withdrawn from my service, then sent back again, and at length finally withdrawn.

I rendered an account of the whole affair to the Emperor, who highly applauded my determination of not admitting a spy among us. "But," said he, in the most engaging manner, "as this sacrifice "has been made for the interest of all, it is not "proper that you alone should be the sufferer. "Send to Gentilini, my *valet de pied*, and let him

" wait on you: he will be very happy to earn a few " Napoleons in addition to his wages: besides, tell " him it is by my desire." Gentilini, at first, cheerfully undertook the duty; but in the evening, the poor fellow came to inform me that some one had told him, it was not proper for one of the Emperor's servants to attend on a private person! . . . The Emperor had the goodness to send for Gentilini, and to repeat the orders with his own mouth.

Thus the Governor daily persecutes us in every imaginable way. I do not mention all the circumstances of this kind that are continually occurring, not because habit has taught me to accommodate myself to them, but because the vexations that arise from mere ill-nature, are but trifles, in comparison with the greater miseries which we have to endure. . . . .

If I attempt to portray the horrors of my own situation alone, let it be considered, that I am exiled, and probably for ever, to a desert rock, 2,000 leagues from home, confined in a small prison, beneath a sky, in a climate, and on a soil, totally different from those of my native country. I am hastening to a premature grave, the only probable conclusion of my misery. Bereft of my wife, children, and friends, who, though they still live, may be said to be no longer in the same world with me; shut out from all communication with mankind, I deplore the recollection of family affections, and the charms of friendship and society. . .

Certainly, there is no man, whatever be his country or his opinions, but must commisserate my lot.... But, in a moment, I can reverse the picture, and my situation will appear an enviable one! . . .

Where is the heart that does not beat at recollection of the achievements of Alexander and Cæsar? Who can approach the relics of Charlemagne without emotion? How happy should we be, could we recal the words, the accents, of Henry IV.! Thus, when oppressed by mental dejection, when I feel the necessity of rousing my drooping spirits, while my heart is overflowing with these sensations, and my mind filled with these ideas, I exclaim, I possess all this, and more than this! Here, I am not surrounded by mere illusions and historical recollections; I am in actual contact with the living man who has accomplished so many prodigies. Every day, every moment, I may contemplate the features of him, who, with a glance, ordered battles, and decided the fate of empires. I may gaze on the brow that is adorned with the laurels of Rivoli, Marengo, Austerlitz, Wagram, Jena, and Friedland. I may presume to touch the hand that has wielded so many sceptres, and distributed so many crowns; which seized the enemy's colours at Arcola and Lodi; and which, on a solemn occasion, surrendered into the hands of an afflicted wife, the only proofs of her husband's guilt. I hear the voice of him, who, when addressing his troops, in sight of the Egyptian

pyramids, said, "My lads, from the summits of "those monuments, forty centuries look down "upon us!" who, halting and uncovering before a column of wounded Austrian soldiers, exclaimed, "Honour and respect to the unfortunate brave." I converse, almost familiarly, with the Monarch who ruled Europe; whose pastime was the embellishment of our cities, and the prosperity of our provinces; who raised us to so high a rank in the estimation of nations; and who wafted our glory to the clouds! .... I see him, I hear him speak, I attend on him, and, perhaps, even help to console him! .... Can I then lay claim to pity? On the contrary, will not thousands envy my lot? Who can boast of possessing so many sources of happiness, in circumstances similar to ours?

New Works planned by the Emperor.—Remarks on great Commanders; War, &c.—Napoleon's Opinions on various Institutions.—Advocates.—Curates.—Miscellaneous Observations.

14th.—The Emperor sent for me about six o'clock. He informed me that he had just been dictating a chapter on maritime rights. He spoke to me of some other works he had in view. I ventured to remind him of the fourteen paragraphs which he had already planned out, and to which I alluded on a former occasion. He seemed pleased that I had mentioned the circumstance,

and assured me that he would, one day or other, carry his design into execution.

He read and corrected the valuable notes which he had dictated to the Grand Marshal, on ancient and modern warfare, the different plans of composing and regulating armies, &c. He afterwards entered into conversation, and, among other things, said, "No series of great actions is the mere "work of chance and fortune; it is always the "result of reflection and genius. Great men "rarely fail in the most perilous undertakings. "Look at Alexander, Cæsar, Hannibal, the great "Gustavus, and others; they always succeeded. "Were they great men merely because they were "fortunate? No; but because, being great men, "they possessed the art of commanding fortune. "When we come to inquire into the causes of their "success, we are astonished to find that they did "every thing to obtain it.

"Alexander, when scarcely beyond the age of "boyhood, with a mere handful of brave troops, "conquered a quarter of the globe. But was this "achievement the result of a mere accidental ir-"ruption, a sort of unexpected deluge? No; all "was profoundly calculated, boldly executed, and "prudently managed. Alexander proved himself "at once a distinguished warrior, politician, and "legislator. Unfortunately, on attaining the ze-"nith of glory and success, his head was turned, "and his heart corrupted. He commenced his

" career with the mind of Trajan; but he closed " it with the heart of Nero, and the manners of " Heliogabalus." The Emperor here described the campaigns of Alexander, in such a manner, as enabled me to view the subject in a totally new light.

Alluding to Cæsar, the Emperor remarked, that he, the reverse of Alexander, had commenced his career at an advanced period of life; that his youth had been passed in indolence and vice; but that he had ultimately evinced the most active and elevated mind. He thought him one of the most amiable characters in history. "Cæsar," observed he, "over- " came the Gauls, and the laws of his country. " But his great warlike achievements must not be " attributed merely to chance and fortune." Here he analyzed the victories of Cæsar, as he had done those of Alexander.

" Hannibal," continued the Emperor, " is per- " haps the most surprising character of any, from " the intrepidity, confidence, and grandeur, evinced " in all his enterprises. At the age of twenty-six, " he conceived what is scarcely conceivable, and " executed what must have been looked upon as " impossible. Renouncing all communication with " his country, he marched through hostile or un- " known nations, which he was obliged to attack " and subdue. He crossed the Pyrenees and the " Alps, which were presumed to be impassable, " and descended upon Italy, sacrificing the half of

" his army for the mere acquisition of his field of " battle, the mere right of fighting. He occupied " and governed Italy for the space of sixteen " years, being several times within a hair's breadth " of possessing himself of Rome, and only relin- " quished his prey when his enemies profiting by " the lesson he had set them, marched to attack " the Carthaginian territory. Can it be supposed " that Hannibal's glorious career and achievements " were the mere result of chance, and fortune's " favours? Certainly, Hannibal must have been " endowed with great vigour of mind, and he must " also have possessed a vast consciousness of his " own skill in the art of war, when being interro- " gated by his youthful conqueror, he hesitated " not to place himself, though subdued, next in " rank to Alexander and Pyrrhus, whom he es- " teemed as the first of warriors.

" All the great Captains of antiquity," continued Napoleon, " and those who in modern times have " successfully retraced their footsteps, performed " vast achievements, only by conforming with the " rules and principles of the art; that is to say, by " correct combinations, and by justly comparing " the relation between means and consequences, " efforts and obstacles. They succeeded only by " the strict observance of these rules, whatever may " have been the boldness of their enterprises, or " the extent of the advantages gained. They in- " variably practised war as a science. Thus they

" have become our great models, and it is only by " closely imitating them, that we can hope to come " near them.

" My greatest successes have been ascribed " merely to good fortune; and my reverses will " no doubt be imputed to my faults. But if I " should write an account of my campaigns, it will " be seen that in both cases, my reason and facul- " ties were exercised in conformity with prin- " ciples."

It is to be hoped, that the Emperor will execute the idea of writing his campaigns. How invaluable would be Napoleon's commentaries!*

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* The second livraison of the *Memoirs of Napoleon*, dictated to Generals Montholon and Gourgaud, now in the course of publication, contains most interesting critical notes by Napoleon, on a military work. These notes contain remarks on the same great captains of antiquity, that have just been noticed here; but with the superior copiousness and force which a deliberate dictation may be expected to possess over the mere report of a current conversation. Another very interesting portion of the volumes here alluded to, is the collection of the official documents and protocol of the negotiations of Chatillon. We have heard of the embarrassment of Louis XIV. at the close of the war, relative to the succession, and the mortifying conferences of Gertruidenberg; but heavens! what were they in comparison with the Congress of Chatillon? And what was the desperate state of the unfortunate French Empire, and the situation of her plenipotentiary, contending with his single efforts against all the victorious diplomacy of Europe?—One cannot, therefore, wonder at the high consideration and esteem which the Duke of Vicenza may be said to have commanded from foreigners of all

The Emperor analyzed the characters of Gustavus-Adolphus and Condé: with the latter, he said, science seemed to be instinctive, nature having created him with maturity of intellect. Turenne, on the contrary, had perfected his talent by dint of study and acquirements. I remarked, that Turenne had formed no pupils, while Condé had left many distinguished ones behind him. "That was the "mere caprice of chance," replied the Emperor; "the contrary ought to have happened. But it "is not always in the master's power to form good "pupils; nature must lend her aid: the seed must "be sown in a fertile soil." He made many remarks on Eugène, Marlborough, Vendome, &c. Frederick the Great, he said, was in all respects a super-excellent tactician, and possessed the art of rendering his troops absolute machines. "How "often," said he, "men's characters prove to be "totally different from what their early actions "indicate! Do they themselves know what they "really are? Frederick," continued he, "at the "commencement of his career took to flight, in "the very face of victory; and, certainly the

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countries, and to which his elevation of character, his loyalty and sincerity, so justly entitled him. His correspondence throughout, breathes the sentiments of the faithful subject, the devoted friend, and above all, the excellent citizen. Without discussing the merits of his personal opinions, it is impossible to peruse his letters, without being inspired by sentiments of respect for the writer.

" whole of his subsequent history, proves him to " have been the most intrepid, most tenacious, and " coolest of men."

After dinner, the Emperor, who was pleased with the subject of the dictations and conversation in which he had been engaged during the morning, discoursed on the same topics for nearly an hour; discussing in the most masterly and ingenious way, a variety of points connected with the art of war.

Alluding to the great difference between ancient and modern warfare, he observed: " The inven- " tion of fire-arms has wrought a total change. " This great discovery operates entirely to the ad- " vantage of assailants, though many moderns " have maintained the contrary opinion. The " corporeal strength of the ancients," added he, " was in harmony with their offensive and defen- " sive weapons; ours, on the other hand, are en- " tirely beyond our sphere."

Should the Emperor leave behind him his thoughts on these points, they will be truly invaluable. In course of the evening, he pronounced his opinion on several military subjects; sometimes embracing the highest questions, and sometimes descending into the minutest details.

He remarked, that war frequently depended on accidents, and that though a commander ought to be guided by general principles, yet, he should never lose sight of any thing that may enable him

to profit by accidental circumstances. The vulgar call good fortune, that which, on the contrary, is produced by the calculations of genius.

In the present mode of military operations, he thought it advisable that greater consistency should be given to the third rank of infantry, or, that it should be suppressed; and he explained his reasons for this.

He was of opinion, that infantry charged by cavalry, should fire from a distance, instead of firing closely, according to the present practice. He proved the advantage of this method.

He observed, that infantry and cavalry left to themselves, without artillery, could procure no decisive result; but that, with the aid of artillery, all things else being equal, cavalry might destroy infantry. He clearly explained these facts, and many others besides.

He added, that artillery really decided the fate of armies and nations; that men now fought with blows of cannon balls, as they fought with blows of fists; for in battle, as in a siege, the art consisted in making numerous discharges converge on one and the same point; that amidst the conflict, he who had sufficient address to direct a mass of artillery suddenly and unexpectedly on any particular point of the enemy's force, was sure of the victory. This, he said, had been his grand secret, and his grand plan of tactics.

The Emperor conceived that it would be im-

possible to form a perfect army, without a revolution in the manners and education of the soldier, and perhaps even the officer. It would be necessary to abolish our arms, magazines, commissaries, and carriages. There could be no perfect army, until in imitation of the Roman custom, the soldier should receive his supply of corn, grind it in his hand-mill, and bake his bread himself. We could not hope to possess an army, until we should abolish all our monstrous train of civil attendants, and commissary officers.

"I contemplated all these changes," said he, "but they never could have been put in practice, "except during profound peace. An army in a "state of war, would infallibly have rebelled "against such innovations."

I will here insert some notes which I have collected at various times, relative to the new plans projected by the Emperor, not only in the army, but on many other points essential to social organization.

The Emperor often observed, that he intended, on the establishment of peace, to induce the powers of Europe to make an immense reduction of their standing armies. He wished that each sovereign should limit himself to his guard, as the frame work of the army, to be raised in case of necessity. He intended, should he have found himself compelled, to keep up a numerous army in time of peace, to employ the troops in public works, and

to have disciplined and provisioned them on a peculiar plan. Some of these ideas will, doubtless, be found in Napoleon's Memoirs; I know the Emperor dictated remarks on these subjects, to different individuals of his suite.

He said, he had found that in his plans of campaigns and expeditions, the greatest difficulty arose from the modern method of provisioning troops; by which it was necessary first to find corn, then to get it ground, and next to get the flour made into bread. The Roman custom, which he highly approved, and which he had intended to introduce wholly or in part, would have obviated all these inconveniences. "By the adoption of "the ancient plan," said he, "an army might have "marched to the further extremity of the world. "But, it would require time to bring about such "a transition. It could not have been accom- "plished by a mere order of the day. I had long "entertained the idea of such a change; but how- "ever great might have been my power, I should "never have attempted to introduce it by force. "There is no subordination with empty stomachs. "Such an object could only have been effected in "time of peace, and by insensible degrees: I "should have accomplished it by creating new "military manners."

The Emperor constantly insisted on subjecting the whole nation to the laws of the conscription. "I am inexorable on the subject of exemption,"

said he, one day in the Council of State;—"it "would be criminal. How could I acquit my "conscience with having exposed the life of one "man, for the advantage of another? I do not "even think I would exempt my own son." On another occasion, he said, "the conscription is the "root of a nation, its moral purification, the real "foundation of its habits. By means of the con-"scription," he added, "the nation was classed "according to its real interests for defence abroad, "and tranquillity at home. Organized, built up in "this way, the French people might have defied "the world, and might with justice have renewed "the saying of the proud Gauls:—*If the sky should "fall, we will keep it up with our lances.*"

According to Napoleon's plans, the conscription, so far from impeding education, would have been the means of promoting it. He intended to have established, in each regiment, a school for the prosecution of labours of every kind, either in polite education, the liberal arts, or mere mechanics. "And nothing would have been so easy," he remarked. "The principle being once adopted, "we should have seen each regiment supplied with "all that was necessary, out of its own ranks. And "what advantages would have accrued to the mass "of society, by the dispersion of these young men, "with their acquired knowledge, even had it been "merely elementary, and the habits necessarily "produced by it!"

The Emperor one day, in the course of conversation, observed, that if he had had leisure, there were few institutions in which he would not have made improvements. He dwelt on the evils arising from lawsuits, which, he said, were an absolute leprosy, a social cancer. "My code," said he, "had singularly diminished lawsuits, by placing "numerous causes within the decision of every "individual. But there still remained much for "the legislator to accomplish. Not that he could "hope to prevent men from quarrelling: that they "have done in all ages; but he might have pre-"vented a third party in society, from living upon "the quarrels of the two others, and even stirring "up disputes, to promote their own interest. It "was, therefore, my intention to establish the "rule, that lawyers should never receive fees ex-"cept when they gained causes. Thus what liti-"gations would have been prevented! On the "first examination of a cause, a lawyer would "have rejected it, had it been at all doubtful. "There would have been little fear that a man, "living by his labour, would have undertaken to "conduct a lawsuit, from mere motives of vanity; "and if he had, he would himself have been the "only sufferer in case of failure. But my idea "was opposed by a multitude of objections, and "as I had no time to lose, I postponed the further "consideration of the subject. Yet I am still "convinced," added he, "that the scheme might,

" with certain modifications, have been turned to " the best account."

When speaking of the clergy, the Emperor remarked, that he intended to have rendered curates a very important and useful class of men. " The " more they are enlightened," said he, " the less " will they be inclined to abuse their ministry."

Therefore, in addition to their theological studies, he wished them to acquire a knowledge of agriculture, and the elements of medicine and law. " Thus," said he, " dogmatism and contro- " versy, the battle-horse and armour of fools and " fanatics, would gradually have become more and " more rare in the pulpit, from whence would have " been promulgated the doctrines of pure morality, " always pleasing, eloquent, and persuasive. As " men usually love to discourse on what they know, " the curates would have instructed the peasantry " in their agricultural labours, counselled them " against chicanery, and given advice to the sick. " Such pastors would have been real blessings to " their flocks; and, as they would have been al- " lowed a liberal stipend, they would have enjoyed " high consideration: they would have respected " themselves, and would have been respected by " all. They would have possessed the power of " feudal lords, and they might, without danger, " have exercised all their influence. A curate would " have been a natural justice of peace, a true moral " chief, to whom the direction of the population

" might have been safely intrusted, because he " would himself have been dependant on the " Government for his appointment and salary. " If to all this be added, the study and priva- " tion necessary for the calling, and supposing the " individuals to be possessed of good qualities of " heart and mind, it must be confessed that pas- " tors, thus constituted, would have produced a " revolution in society, highly advantageous to " the cause of morality."

I recollect having heard the Emperor, in the Council of State, declaim against the perquisites of ministers of the Gospel, and point out the indecorum of their bartering, as he said, for sacred, and, frequently, indispensable objects. He therefore proposed putting an end to this practice. " By rendering the acts of religion gratuitous," he observed, " we shall elevate their dignity, benefi- " cence, and charity; and confer a great benefit " on the poor. Nothing would be easier than to " substitute legal imposts for these perquisites. " Every one is born, many marry, and all die; and " yet births, marriages, and deaths, are three great " subjects of religious jobbing, which, in my opi- " nion, are particularly objectionable, and which " I would wish to abolish. Since these are mat- " ters which concern all equally, why not place " them under a special impost, or include them " among the subjects of general taxation?" This proposition came to no result.

I also recollect having heard the Emperor suggest, that all public functionaries, and men employed under Government, even officers in the army, should themselves form a fund for their future pensions, by a slight deduction from their annual salaries. "Thus," said he, "the future "support of these individuals would no longer be "an object of solicitation, or a favour; it would "be a right. The deductions made from their "salaries would be thrown into a sinking fund, "liable to this application. It would be a certain "property, which they might regard as their own, "and upon which they might draw, without oppo-"sition, on retiring from the public service." It was urged, in objection, that there were incomes, those of military officers, in particular, that would not admit of deduction.—"Well," replied the Emperor, "I will make up the deficiency. I will "add whatever is necessary for the deduction."—"But," it was asked, "what end will that answer? "If we have to pay the same amount, where will "be the economy? where will be the advantage?"—"The advantage," replied the Emperor, "will "be in the difference between certainty and un-"certainty; in the settled course of the treasury, "and the tranquillity of citizens, who would thus "possess their guarantee."

The Emperor warmly defended this idea, and adverted to it oftener than once; it however produced no result. I have already remarked, that I

have often known him to enter upon extempore discussions in this way, and even to comment on law projects after they were printed. The following brief quotation will afford an idea of the labours and activity of the Emperor's reign:—"It is calculated that Napoleon's Government, in the space of fourteen years and five months, presents 61,139 deliberations of the Council of State, on different subjects! . . ."*

I have often heard Napoleon repeat, that he wished for the establishment of an European Institution, and European prizes, to superintend and stimulate the learned societies of every country.

He would have wished to fix throughout Europe, uniformity of coins, weights, and measures, and also uniformity of legislation. "Why," said he, "might not my Napoleon Code have served as the "groundwork for an European Code, and my Im- "perial University have been the basis of an Eu- "ropean University? Thus the whole population "of Europe would have become one and the same "family; and every man, while he travelled "abroad, would still have found himself at home."

Various other subjects, of the above nature, were canvassed at different times; but I refrain from noticing them, as my memory does not enable me to enter into details.

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* Montvérant's *Histoire Critique et Raisonnée.*

Alarming Change in the Emperor.—The Governor surrounds us with Fortifications.—Panic Terrors of Sir Hudson Lowe.—General Lamarque.—Madame Recamier and a Prussian Prince.

15th.—About three o'clock, the Emperor, with whom I breakfasted this morning, sent for me. He wished to take the air, and he endeavoured to walk as far as the wood; but the air was too keen for him. He then called at the Grand Marshal's, and he sat for a considerable time in an arm chair, apparently quite exhausted. We remarked the colour of his countenance, his thinness, and his evident debility; and we were much distressed at the change observable in him.

As we passed through the wood, the Emperor saw the fortifications with which we are about to be surrounded; and he could not forbear smiling at these useless and absurd preparations. He remarked, that the ground in our neighbourhood had been entirely disfigured, by the removal of the kind of turf with which it was covered, and which had been carried away for the purpose of raising banks. In fact, for the last two months, the Governor has been incessantly digging ditches, constructing parapets, planting palisadoes, &c. He has quite blockaded us in Longwood, and the stable at present presents every appearance of a redoubt. We are at a loss to guess where will be

the advantage equivalent to the expense and labour bestowed on these works, which by turns excite the ill-humour and ridicule of the soldiers and Chinese, who are employed upon them, and who now distinguish Longwood and the stable, by the names of *Hudson Fort* and *Lowe Fort.* We are assured, that Sir Hudson Lowe often starts out of his sleep to devise new measures of security. "Surely," said the Emperor, "this seems some-"thing like madness. Why cannot the man sleep "tranquilly, and let us alone? Has he not sense "enough to perceive that the security of our local "situation here, is sufficient to remove all his "panic terrors?"—"Sire," said an individual present, "he cannot forget Capri, which, with 2,000 "men, thirty pieces of cannon, and batteries "mounted to the clouds, was taken by 1,200 "Frenchmen, commanded by the brave Lamarque, "who could only reach Sir Hudson Lowe by the "help of a triple escalade."—"Well," said the Emperor, "this only proves that our Governor is "a better jailor than a general."

For some time past, I have felt seriously alarmed respecting the health of my son. The pains of which he formerly complained, have been succeeded by violent palpitations, attended by fainting fits; and he is frequently obliged to rise during the night, to relieve himself by walking about, or assuming some particular position.

Dr. O'Meara thought he evinced symptoms of

aneurism, and considered him to be in a dangerous state. I requested the chief medical officer, Dr. Baxter, to hold a consultation with Dr. O'Meara. The result of the conference greatly relieved my anxiety; for my son was declared to be free from danger.

During the conversations of the day, the Emperor alluded to Madame de Stael, of whom, however, he said nothing new, except mentioning some letters which had been examined by the police, and which related to Madame Recamier and a Prussian Prince.

"This correspondence," said the Emperor, "presented unequivocal proofs of the influence of "Madame Recamier's charms, and the high re-"gard which the Prince entertained for her. The "letters contained nothing less than offers or pro-"mises of marriage on his part."

The following is an explanation of this affair. The beautiful Madame Recamier, whose pure reputation stood unassailed during those stormy times in which few escaped censure, was residing with Madame de Stael, to whom she had heroically devoted herself, when one of the Prussian Princes, who had been made prisoner at Eylare, and who was proceeding to Italy by Napoleon's permission, alighted at the castle of Coppet, with the intention of resting only for a few hours. Here, however, he was detained during the whole of the summer by the charms of Madame Recamier, who was

voluntarily sharing the exile of her friend. This lady, and the young Prince, both considered themselves as the victims of Napoleon, and their common hatred of him, whom they looked upon as their oppressor, probably engendered the interest which they mutually conceived for each other. Inspired with an ardent passion, the Prince, in spite of the difficulties which his exalted rank naturally suggested, conceived the idea of marrying Madame Recamier. He communicated his design to Madame de Stael, whose poetic imagination prompted her to favour a scheme that was calculated to diffuse a sort of romantic interest over Coppet. The Prince was recalled to Berlin, but absence produced no change in his sentiments. He still ardently prosecuted his suit; but Madame Recamier constantly declined this unexpected elevation, either from natural generosity of feeling, or from her catholic prejudices against divorce.

To this circumstance we are indebted for the picture of *Corinne*, which is accounted one of the most original creations of Gerard's pencil. The Prince ordered the picture as a compliment to Madame Recamier.

Since I have mentioned the name of Madame de Stael, I will take this opportunity of observing that since the publication of the preceding volumes of my Journal, I have been visited by some of the most intimate friends of that celebrated woman. These individuals have assured me, that Madame

de Stael has been often represented to have employed expressions in reference to Napoleon, of which she was wholly incapable,—for example, the phrase *Robespierre on horseback*, which they said, they could take upon themselves conscientiously to disavow. I have moreover been informed, that Madame de Stael was often more favourable to Napoleon in her private conversation, than in her writings, which, it must be confessed, are, in all that relates to the Emperor, embittered by a spirit of malignity and resentment. One of her friends assured me, that he had been very much gratified on finding it mentioned in my Journal, that Napoleon at St. Helena, had compared Madame de Stael at once to Armida and Clorinda. I was informed, that Madame de Stael, on her part, at the time of her enthusiasm for the young General of the army of Italy, had compared him at once to Scipio and Tancred; because, as she said, he conbined the simple virtues of the one, with the brilliant achievements of the other.

After dinner, the Emperor ordered his favourite Racine to be brought out, and he read to us some of the finest passages in Iphigenia, Mithridates, and Bajazet. "Though Racine has produced chefs-d'œuvre in themselves," said he, "yet, he has "diffused over them a perpetual air of insipidity. "Love is eternally introduced, with its tone of "languor, and its tiresome accompaniments. But "these faults must not be attributed entirely to

"Racine, but to the manners of the age in which "he wrote. Love was then, at even a later period, "the whole business of life with every one. This "is always the case, when society is in a state of "idleness. As for us," said he, "our thoughts "have been cruelly turned to other subjects, by "the great events of the revolution."

The Emperor likewise condemned the whole of the celebrated plan of campaign of Mithridates. He remarked, that it might be fine as a narrative; but that it was absurd as a conception.

Portraits of the present English Ministers.—The Emperor condemns all Ministries.—Honourable Exceptions.—Napoleon's Sentiments for the Individuals who served him.

16th.—I found the Emperor amusing himself by looking over an English publication, a kind of political almanack. Alluding to the members of the English Ministry who were mentioned in the work, he said to me: "Do you know any of them? "What was the general opinion of them, when "you were in England?"—"Sire," I replied, "it "is so long since I left England, that nearly all "who are now distinguished in the ministry, were "then only commencing their career. At that time "none of them had come forward on the scene."

The Emperor, having mentioned Lord Liverpool, said: "he appears to me to be the most "worthy man among them. I have heard a great "deal of good of him. He seems to have some

" feeling of propriety and decorum. I have no " objection to a man being my enemy; every one " has his own business and his own duties to per- " form; but I have certainly a right to be indig- " nant at unworthy conduct and measures." I mentioned to the Emperor, that when I was in England, Lord Liverpool's father, Mr. Jenkinson, who successively became Lord Hawkesbury, and Lord Liverpool, had made his political fortune. He was said to have been a very good kind of man, and a private friend of George III.; he was distinguished for assiduity, and particularly directed his attention to diplomatic documents.

The Emperor next mentioned Lord Sidmouth. " I am told," said he, " that he too is a worthy " man enough: but he possesses no great share of " understanding. He is one of those honest " blockheads, who, with the utmost sincerity, con- " cur in all sorts of mischief."

" Sire," said I, " in my time, Lord Sidmouth, " under the name of Mr. Addington, was a mem- " ber of the House of Commons, and was a man " generally esteemed. He was said to be the " creature of Mr. Pitt, who was understood to have " appointed Addington as his successor, in order " to ensure to himself the means of returning to " the ministry whenever he should think fit. The " public were certainly greatly astonished to see " Pitt succeeded by Mr. Addington; as the post " was considered to be very far beyond his talents.

" One of the English opposition papers alluding to " Mr. Addington, quoted the remark made by a " philosopher (Locke I believe), who says, that the " mind of a child is a blank sheet of paper, on " which nature has yet written nothing; and the " Journal in question, humourously observed, " that when nature wrote upon the blank sheet of " the Doctor (the nickname then given to Mr. Ad- " dington), it must needs be confessed, she left " plenty of margin."

" Well," resumed the Emperor, " what do you " know of that sad fellow, into whose keeping we " have been delivered up, that Lord B . . . . . ?" " Absolutely nothing, Sire," I replied, " either of " his origin, his person, or his character."—" For " my part," said he, with some degree of warmth, I " have no opportunity of knowing him, except by " his conduct towards me; and in judging from " that, I hold him to be *the most . . ., the most . . ., " the most . . ., of men.* The brutality of his orders, " the coarseness of his language, the choice of his " agent, all authorize me to make this declaration. " An executioner such as he has sent here, is not " easily found. Such a selection could not be made " at random. He must have been sought for, " tried, judged, and instructed. Certainly, this in " my opinion, is sufficient to justify the moral con- " demnation of the man who could stoop to so " base a course. By the arm which he moves, it is " easy to guess what must be his heart!"

I must confess, that yielding to feelings of delicacy, I had at first almost prevailed on myself to suppress or to soften down the expressions above quoted; but on the other hand, certain scruples deterred me from doing so. The shade of him who was so deeply injured, is, thought I, at this moment hovering above me, and seems to say:—"Since you make me speak, at least pre-"serve my words." Justice asserts her rights. Men, in the enjoyment of honours and powers, must feel it incumbent on them to answer charges that are brought against them. Let the accused justify himself:—if he can, so much the better.

Speaking of Lord C....., the Emperor said:—"This man governs all the rest, and rules "even the Prince himself, by dint of impudence "and intrigue. Supported by a majority of his "own creating, he is always ready to contend, "with the utmost effrontery, against reason, law, "justice, and truth. No falsehood staggers him: "he stops at nothing, well knowing that he can "always command votes to applaud and legalize "whatever he does. He has completely sacrificed "his country, and is daily degrading her by acting "in opposition to her policy, doctrines, and in-"terests: in short, he has entirely delivered her "up to the continent. The situation of England "is becoming worse and worse. Heaven knows "how she will extricate herself!"

"Lord C....." continued he, "is, I am

"informed, looked upon even in England, as a "man politically immoral. He commenced his "career by an act of political apostasy, which, "though common enough in his country, never- "theless, always leaves an indelible stain. He "entered upon public life as an advocate of the "people, and he has finally become the engine of "power and despotism. If all that is said of him "be correct, he must be execrated by his coun- "trymen, the Irish, whom he has betrayed, and "by the English, who may justly regard him as "the destroyer of their domestic liberties, and "foreign interests.

"He has had the impudence to bring forward "in parliament, as authentic facts, statements "which he knew to be false, and which probably "he himself fabricated: and yet, on the authority "of these documents, Murat's dethronement was "decided. Lord C..... makes it his busi- "ness to belie himself daily in parliament, and in "public meetings, by putting into my mouth, "language calculated to prejudice me in the eyes "of the English, though he is well aware that he "is making false assertions. This conduct is the "more base; since he himself withholds from me "the power of refuting him.

"Lord C..... is the pupil of Pitt, of whom "he probably thinks himself the equal, though he "is merely the ape of that distinguished statesman. "He has incessantly pursued the plans and plots

" of his master against France; but even here " pertinacity and obstinacy were perhaps his only " good qualities. But Pitt had grand views: with " him his country's interest took place of every " consideration. He possessed talent and inge- " nuity; and from England, he moved the lever " by which he ruled and influenced the continental " sovereigns at will. C . . . . . , on the " contrary, substituting intrigue for ingenuity, and " subsidies for genius, is regardless of his coun- " try's interest, and has incessantly employed the " credit and influence of the continental sove- " reigns, merely to confirm and perpetuate his " own power at home. However, such is the " course of things in this world, that Pitt with all " his talent, constantly failed, while the incapable " C . . . . . has been completely successful. " Oh, blindness of fortune!

" C . . . . . has proved himself entirely the " man of the continent. When master of Europe, " he satisfied all the monarchs of the continent, and " only forgot his own country. His conduct has " been so prejudicial to the national interests, so " incompatible with the doctrines of his country, " and altogether presents so much the appear- " ance of inconsistency, that it is difficult to " conceive how so wise a people as the English " can allow themselves to be governed by such " a fool!

" He adopts legitimacy as the basis of his creed,

" and wishes to establish it as a political dogma,
" while that principle would sap the very founda-
" tion of the throne of his own sovereign. Be-
" sides, he acknowledges Bernadotte in opposition
" to the legitimate Gustavus IV., who sacrificed
" himself for England; and he acknowledges the
" usurper Ferdinand VII., to the detriment of his
" venerable father Charles IV.

" He and the allies establish as another funda-
" mental basis, the restoration of the old order of
" things, the redress of what they term past in-
" juries, injustice, and depredation; finally, the
" return of political morality. Yet C.....
" scrupled not to sacrifice the republics of Venice
" and Genoa, by abandoning the former to Austria,
" and annexing the latter to Piedmont. He en-
" riched Russia by the possession of Poland. He
" robbed the King of Saxony, for the advantage
" of Prussia, who can no longer afford any aid to
" England. He separated Norway from Denmark,
" while, had the latter power been left more inde-
" pendent of Russia, she might have surrendered to
" England the key of the Baltic; and Norway was
" transferred to Sweden, which, by the loss of Fin-
" land and the Islands of the Baltic, has fallen
" entirely under the subjection of Russia. Finally,
" by a violation of the first principles of general
" policy, he neglected, in his all-powerful situation,
" to restore the independence of Poland, thereby
" exposing Constantinople, endangering the whole

" of Europe, and preparing a thousand troubles in " Germany.

" I need say nothing of the monstrous incon- " sistency of a Minister, the representative of a " nation pre-eminently free, restoring Italy to the " yoke of slavery, keeping Spain in a state of " bondage, and exerting every effort to forge fet- " ters for the whole continent. Does he think " that liberty is only proper for the English, and " that the rest of Europe is not fit to enjoy it?* " But even supposing him to entertain this opi- " nion, how does he explain his conduct with re- " gard to his own countrymen, whom he is daily " depriving of some of their rights? For exam- " ple: the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, " right or wrong; the enforcement of the Alien " Bill, by which (will it be credited?) the wife of " an Englishman, should she happen to be a fo- " reigner, may be driven from England, at the will " and pleasure of the Minister; the endless dis- " persion of spies and informers, those exciting " agents and infernal instigators, by whose aid cri- " minals may always be created, and victims mul- " tiplied. In short, C . . . . . has established " at home, the system of cold violence, the iron " yoke, which he exercises over foreign depen-

* Lord C . . . . . actually had the assurance to make this declaration, and nearly in the words above quoted, during a debate in Parliament, relative to the Constitution of Baden or Bavaria.

" dencies.* No; Lord C—— is not calculated to " be the Minister of a free people, or to command " the respect of foreign nations. He is the vizier " of the continental Sovereigns, at their insti- " gation training his countrymen to slavery: he " is the connecting link, the conductor, by which " English gold is dispersed over the continent, " and the despotic doctrines of other countries " imported into England.

" He proves himself to be the partisan, the " obsequious associate of the Holy Alliance,— " that mysterious alliance, of which I cannot " guess either the meaning or the object, which " can afford neither utility nor advantage. Can " it be directed against the Turks? It would " then be for the English to oppose it. Can it " really have for its object the maintenance of a " general peace? That is a chimera, by which it

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* I have been informed that since my departure, the Emperor, reading the complaints of the Ionian Islands, and indignantly enumerating the acts of the Allies, who, while they talked loudly about morality, justice, and the independence of nations, vied with each other in appropriating to themselves the wrecks of the Great Empire, and scrupled not to parcel out millions of people, —said, " These insolent and hypocritical men, presumed, in the " face of the world, to declare that I was selfish, faithless, and " tyrannical! "

On learning the fate of unfortunate Parga, he exclaimed, " Parga! Parga! Certainly this act is enough to brand a man, " and mark his forehead for ever! "

" is impossible diplomatic cabinets can be duped. " With them, alliances can only be formed for the " purpose of opposition or counterpoise. They " cannot all be allied together. I cannot, there- " fore, comprehend this Holy Alliance, except by " regarding it as a league of sovereigns against " subjects ; but, in that case, what has C . . . . . " . . . . . to do with it? If it be so, will he not, " ought he not, one day, to pay dearly for his con- " duct?

" I once had Lord C . . . . . in my power," said the Emperor. " He was intriguing at Chatillon, " when, during one of our momentary successes, " my troops passed beyond the seat of Congress, " which was, by this means, surrounded. The " Prime Minister of England maintained no public " character, and was without the law of nations. " He was aware of his embarrassing situation, and " manifested the utmost uneasiness at thus finding " himself in my power. I intimated to him, that " he might set his mind at rest, as he was at per- " fect liberty. I did this on my own account, and " not on his, for certainly I had no reason to ex- " pect any good from him. However, some time " after this, he evinced his gratitude in a very pe- " culiar way. When he saw me make choice of " the Isle of Elba, he caused England to be pro- " posed as my asylum, and employed all his elo- " quence and subtlety, to induce me to make " choice of that country as my place of residence.

"Now, however, I may justly entertain suspicion "of the offers of C....., and, doubtless, he "already meditated the horrible treatment which "he is at this moment exercising towards me!

"It was a misfortune for England, that her "Prime Minister treated personally with the con- "tinental Sovereigns: it was a violation of the "spirit of the British constitution. The English "at first felt their pride flattered, at seeing their "representative dictate laws to Europe; but they "have now abundant cause to repent, since the re- "sult has proved that, on the contrary, he only sti- "pulated for embarrassment, degradation and loss.

"It is an undoubted fact, that C..... "might have obtained all; while, on the contrary, "from blindness, incapacity, or perfidy, he sacri- "ficed every thing. When seated at the banquet "of Monarchs, he blushed to bargain for peace "like a merchant, and determined to treat libe- "rally like a lord. Thus he gained something in "point of vanity; and, it may be presumed, he lost "nothing in point of interest: his country alone "suffered, and will long continue to suffer.

"And the continental Sovereigns are also likely "to repent of having permitted their Prime Minis- "ters to come into personal contact with each "other. The result seems to have been, that these "Premiers have created among themselves, a sort "of secondary sovereignty, which they mutually "guarantee to each other; and, there is good rea-

" son to suppose, it is accompanied by subsidies
" furnished with the knowledge of their respective
" Sovereigns. This business may be very easily
" managed; nothing can be more simple, and, at
" the same time, more ingenious. In fixing the
" secret service money, it is very easy to mention,
" that such a one on the continent has been very
" useful, that he may still continue to be so, and,
" therefore, that it is proper to make an acknow-
" ledgment for his services. This individual, in
" his turn, may represent to his Government, that
" some man or other abroad, has rendered impor-
" tant services, and even compromised his own in-
" terests, and that consequently he should not be
" forgotten. It was, probably, some such arrange-
" ments as these, that occasioned a distinguished
" individual at Vienna to exclaim, in a moment of
" irritation, *Such a one costs me as dear as my eyes.*
" Doubtless, these disgraceful schemes and trans-
" actions will one day come to light. We shall
" then see what enormous fortunes have thus
" been squandered and swallowed up. They will
" perhaps hereafter be recorded in new letters of
" Barillon; but nothing will be unfolded, no cha-
" racters will be disgraced, because contempora-
" ries will have anticipated all."

After this energetic effusion, in which, I may say, I for the first time heard Napoleon express himself with such warmth and bitterness against the individuals of whom he had personally cause to

complain, he was silent for a few moments. Then resuming, he said, "And Lord C . . . . . is "artful enough to support himself entirely on Lord "W . . . . . (whom the Emperor now found "was included among the members of the English "Ministry). W . . . . . has become his "creature! Can it be possible, that the modern "Marlborough has linked himself in the train of a "C . . . . . ., and yoked his victories to the "turpitude of a political mountebank? It is in-"conceivable! Can W . . . . . endure such a "thought? Has not his mind risen to a level "with his success? . . ."

I had remarked that, in general, the Emperor disliked to speak of Lord W . . . . . He seemed carefully to avoid pronouncing his opinion on him; feeling, no doubt, the impropriety of publicly depreciating the General who had triumphed over him. On the present occasion, however, he yielded, without reserve, to the full expression of his feelings. The consciousness of the indignities that are heaped upon him, seemed, at this moment, to rise forcibly in his mind. Though usually so calm and unresenting towards those who had done him the greatest injuries, he now evinced a degree of warmth, which I had never before witnessed in him. His gestures, his features, his tone of voice, were all expressive of the utmost indignation. I listened to him with astonishment.

"I have been told," said he, "that it is through

"W ..... that I am here; and I believe "it.* It is conduct well worthy of him, who, in "defiance of a solemn capitulation, suffered Ney "to perish;—Ney, with whom he had so often "been engaged on the field of battle! For my "own part, it is very certain I gave him a terrible "quarter of an hour. This usually constitutes a "claim on noble minds; his was incapable of feeling it. My fall, and the lot that might have been "reserved for me, afforded him the opportunity of "reaping higher glory than he has gained by all "his victories. But he did not understand this. "Well, at any rate, he ought to be heartily grateful to old Blucher: had it not been for him, I "know not where *his Grace* might have been today; but I know that I, at least, should not have "been at St. Helena. W ....'s troops were "admirable, but his plans were despicable; or, I "should rather say, that he formed none at all. "He had placed himself in a situation, in which "it was impossible he could form any; and, by "a curious chance, this very circumstance saved "him. If he could have commenced a retreat, he "must infallibly have been lost. He certainly "remained master of the field of battle; but was "his success the result of his skill? He has "reaped the fruit of a brilliant victory; but did "his genius prepare it for him? His glory is

* This idea again occurs in the last lines that were traced by Napoleon.

" wholly negative. His faults were enormous. " He, the European Generalissimo, in whose hands " so many interests were intrusted, and having be- " fore him an enemy so prompt and daring as my- " self, left his forces dispersed about, and slum- " bered in a capital until he was surprised. And " yet such is the power of fatality! In the course " of three days, I three times saw the destiny of " France and of Europe escape my grasp.

" In the first place, but for the treason of a " General, who deserted from our ranks, and be- " trayed my designs, I should have dispersed and " destroyed all the enemy's detached parties be- " fore they could have combined themselves into " army corps.

" Next, had it not been for the unusual hesita- " tions of Ney at Quatre-Bras, I should have an- " nihilated the whole English army.

" Finally, on my right, the extraordinary ma- " nœuvres of Grouchy, instead of securing victory, " completed my ruin, and hurled France into the " abyss.

" No," continued he, " W ..... possesses " only a special kind of talent: Berthier also had " his! In this he perhaps excels. But he has no " ingenuity; fortune has done more for him than " he has done for her. How different from Marl- " borough, of whom he seems to consider himself " as the rival and equal. Marlborough, while he " gained battles, ruled cabinets and guided states-

" men; as for W....., he has only shewn " himself capable of following the views and plans " of C..... Madame de Stael said of " him, that when out of the field of battle, he had " not two ideas. The saloons of Paris, so distin- " guished for delicacy and correctness of taste, at " once decided that Madame de Stael was in the " right; and the French Plenipotentiary at Vienna " confirmed that opinion. His victories, their re- " sult, and their influence, will rise in history; but " his name will fall, even during his lifetime."

Alluding to ministries in general, but particularly to collective ministries, the intrigues, the great and petty passions that agitate the men who compose them, the Emperor said, "After all, they " are only so many plagues. No one escapes the " contagion. A man may be honest when he en- " ters a ministry; but it seldom happens that he " retires from one, without having forfeited his " purity of character. I may perhaps except only " two: mine, and that of the United States. Mine, " because my Ministers were merely my men of " business, and I alone stood responsible; and " that of the United States, because there, Minis- " ters are men of public credit, always upright, " always vigilant, and always rigid." He concluded with the following remarkable words:—

"I believe that no Sovereign was ever sur- " rounded by more faithful servants than I was " towards the close of my reign. And if I did not

"obtain due credit for the selection I had made, it "was because the French are too apt to murmur "incessantly." He then took a review of his principal Ministers, numbering them by his fingers.

"My two great dignitaries," said he, "Cambacérès and Lebrun, were distinguished men, and "perfectly well disposed.

"Bassano and Caulincourt, two men remarkable "for sincerity and rectitude. Molé, whose name "reflects honour on the French Magistracy, is probably destined to act a part in future ministries.

"Montalivet was an honest man; the ministry "of Decrès was pure and rigorous; Gaudin was distinguished for steady and well directed labour; "Mollien possessed vast perspicuity and promptitude; and all my Counsellors of State were prudent and assiduous! All these names will remain inseparably connected with mine. What "country, what age, ever presented a better composed, or more moral Ministry? Happy the "nation that possesses such instruments, and "knows how to turn them to good account! . . . "Though I was not given to praise, and though "my approbation was in general purely negative, "yet, I nevertheless fully appreciated the value "of those who served me, and who have everlasting claims on my gratitude. Their number is "immense, and the most modest are not the least "meritorious. I shall not attempt to name them, "because many would have to complain of

" having been omitted, and such omission might " appear like ingratitude on my part!"

The Generals of the Army of Italy.—Napoleon the adopted Father of one of his Aides-de-camp.—Scandalous Novel.—Napoleon's Dislike of Gaming.—The La Rochefoucault Family, &c.

17th.—The Emperor was unwell, and saw nobody during the whole of the day. In the evening he sent for me. I expressed myself very much concerned for the state of his health; but he assured me that he was more indisposed in mind than in body. He began to converse on a variety of subjects, and this seemed to rouse his spirits.

He once more took a review of the Generals of the army of Italy, describing their characters, and quoting many anecdotes respecting them. He spoke of the selfishness of one, of the false pretensions of another, the folly of a third, the depredations committed by some, the good qualities of others, and the important services rendered by all. He dwelt particularly on one, to whom he had been much attached, and whose defection, he said, had proved a severe wound to his heart. The Emperor remarked, that from what he knew of that individual, he was sure he must occasionally suffer deeply from remorse. " Never," observed he, " was defection more fatal, or more decidedly " avowed. It was recorded in the Moniteur, and " by his own hand. It was the immediate cause of

" our disasters, the grave of our power, the cloud " of our glory. And yet," added he, in a tone of affection, " I am convinced his sentiments are " better than his reputation; his heart is superior " to his conduct. Of this, he himself appears to " be conscious. The newspapers inform us, that " when soliciting vainly for the pardon of Lava- " lette, he exclaimed, with warmth, in reply to the " obstacles urged by the Monarch, *Sire, have I* " *not given you more than life?* We were, it is " true," said the Emperor, " betrayed by others, " and in a manner still more vile; but no other " act of apostasy was so solemnly recorded by " official documents."

The Emperor observed, that at an early period of life, he had acted the part of a father to the General above alluded to, who could not enter the royal corps of artillery, and had been obliged to join a provincial regiment. " He was," said the Emperor, " the nephew of one of my comrades at " the school of Brienne, and in the regiment of " La Fère, who, when he emigrated from France, " recommended his young relation to my care. " This circumstance imposed upon me the obliga- " tion of acting the part of his uncle and his father, " which I literally did. I a took real interest in " his welfare, and felt a pleasure in advancing his " fortune. His father was a knight of St. Louis, " the proprietor of some iron works in Burgundy, " and a man of considerable fortune."

Napoleon mentioned that in 1794, as he was returning from the army of Nice to Paris, he visited the father's *chateau*, where he was magnificently treated, as he was already beginning to enjoy a certain degree of reputation. The father, according to the son's account, was an absolute miser. However, he determined to give a handsome reception to the guest who had been so kind to his son. His entertainment was distinguished by all the ostentation which misers are fond of displaying. He exhibited complete prodigality. It was in July or August, and he ordered immense fires to be kindled in all the apartments. "This," said the Emperor, "would have been an incident "for Moliere."

Speaking of the manners of Paris, and its immense population, the Emperor adverted to the many evils which he said must inevitably exist in all great capitals, where depravity of every kind is continually stimulated by want, passion, wit, and the facilities afforded by bustle and confusion. He often repeated, that all capitals were so many Babylons. He adduced several proofs of odious libertinism with respect to Paris; and he mentioned, that after he became Emperor, he had perused the most scandalous book that was ever conceived by the most depraved imagination. It was a novel, which, even in the time of the Convention, had proved so offensive to public morals, as to occasion the imprisonment of its author, who

had continued in confinement ever since, and whom the Emperor believed was still living. I have forgotten the name of the writer, and it was the first time I had ever heard the production mentioned.

The Emperor said, he had endeavoured, as far as circumstances permitted, to suppress many sources of immorality; but in some instances, he had not had courage to descend into details. For example, he prohibited masked gaming, and even had it in view to prohibit all gaming houses; but when I wished to have the subject thoroughly discussed in my presence, it proved to be a very difficult question. I mentioned, that the police had even prohibited us from playing privately in one of the principal houses of the Faubourg St. Germain. The Emperor observed, that he had had no idea of this act of tyranny; and yet, as I assured him, it was exercised by Fouché in his name. "That may be," said he, "but I knew nothing of "it; and so it was with all the details of the po-"lice, high, middling, and low.

He then questioned me respecting the kind of gaming to which I had just alluded; and observing that in my replies, I always used the plural *we*, he interrupted me, saying,—"Were you your-"self one of the party? Were you a gamester?" —"Alas! Sire, I unfortunately was. Only by "fifths and long intervals, it is true. But still, "when the fit siezed me, it urged me to excess."—

"I am very glad I knew nothing of it at the time," said the Emperor, "otherwise you would have been "ruined in my esteem. This circumstance shews "how little we knew of each other, and it also proves "that you could not have made yourself many "enemies; for there were charitable souls about "me who would have taken care to inform me of "your failing. My prejudice against gaming was "well known. A gamester was sure to forfeit my "confidence. I had not leisure to inquire whether "I was right or wrong; but, whenever I heard "that a man was addicted to gaming, I placed "no more reliance on him."

This allusion to the Faubourg St. Germain, led us to mention many of the principal names in the capital. The Emperor made some remarks on the different members of the family of La Rochefoucault. He mentioned the lady of honour to the Empress Josephine; her husband, who was ambassador to Vienna and Holland; her brother, the member of the Legislative Body; their father, M. de Liancourt, whom he highly respected; and finally, the daughter whom he had given in marriage to Prince Aldobrandini, brother to Prince Borghese. He repeated, that he had once entertained the idea of making her the wife of Ferdinand VII. He also mentioned another M. de la Rochefoucault, who died in prison at the commencement of his reign, and he asked me what relation he was to the others. I could not inform him. I knew no-

thing either of the person or the circumstance mentioned by the Emperor.

"He was," said Napoleon, "the author of a "conspiracy against my person, which I never "mentioned to you: it just now occurs to my "recollection.

"This M. de la Rochefoucault formed in Paris, "in the interest of the King, who was then at "Mittau, a conspiracy, the first stroke of which "was to be the death of the head of the Govern- "ment. M. de la Rochefoucault ended his days "in prison, after a long confinement. Some one "having procured a knowledge of this affair, a "confidential agent of the police, pretended to "enter into the conspiracy, and to become one "of its most active members. He received his "credentials at a *chateau* in Lorraine, from an old "gentleman, who had held a distinguished rank in "the army of Condé, and who had been enabled to "return to France by the amnesty of the First "Consul. This gentleman, who, to do him justice, "was a very worthy man, was appointed to accredit "the members of the conspiracy, and to afford "them the necessary facilities for gaining access to "Louis XVIII. at Mittau. He had evinced great "repugnance on entering into the conspiracy. He "said it was now too late to think of such enter- "prises, as France was beginning to enjoy re- "pose. He solemnly declared his disapproval of "any violence being offered to the First Consul,

" whom he now looked upon as something sacred. " After having several interviews with Louis " XVIII. at Mittau, the police agent returned " with a knowledge of the whole affair. M. de la " Rochefoucault and his party were arrested. If " they had but known who disclosed their plot!"

Poniatowski the real King of Poland. — Characteristic Anecdotes of Napoleon.

18th, 19th.—The conversation turned on Poland, roused as she had been at the voice of Napoleon. We spoke of the individuals who seemed to have been destined to ascend the throne of that country: each made his own conjectures on this subject. The Emperor remained silent for some time, and at length interrupted us, saying :—" Poniatowski " was the real King of Poland. He possessed " every quality requisite for that high station."

At another moment, the Emperor smiled at the pains that had been taken to obliterate the emblems and devices that appeared on the public monuments which he had created. " They may," said he, " be withdrawn from the public eye ; but " they cannot be erased from the page of history, or " from the recollection of connoisseurs and artists. " I acted differently," added he; " I respected all " the vestiges of royalty that existed when I came " into power. I even restored the *fleur-de-lis*, " and other royal emblems, when chronological " correctness required it."

An individual present remarked, that Prince Lucien had manifested precisely the same sentiments. The Palais Royal was assigned as his place of residence on the Emperor's return in 1815, and observing, as he ascended the staircase, the groupes of *fleurs-de-lis* on the tapestry that overhung the walls, he said to the officer who attended him: "This will all be taken down I presume?"—"Why, Monseigneur?"—"Because these are the "devices of the enemy."—"Well! Monseigneur, "why should they not remain as our trophies?"—"You are right," replied the Prince, "this is "exactly my way of viewing the matter."

To-day, I have been able to collect but little from the Emperor's conversation. . . . . I shall, therefore, fill up this void, and that of the succeeding day, by inserting some anecdotes which I find in scattered memoranda on the cover of my ordinary Journal: for here I noted down such particulars as I found I had forgotten to insert in their proper place, together with any old reminiscences that happened to occur to me, or delicate points which, in our state of captivity, required to be treated with prudence and circumspection. These notes also contain many facts, which have been subsequently collected from unquestionable sources.

Many of these articles have no relation to each other; but, they are all connected with the object of the present work, whether they serve to prove

the false colours in which Napoleon has been painted, or whether, on the contrary, they develop the real traits of his character. May the perusal of this Journal induce those who have approached the Emperor, to record on their parts all they know, or have heard respecting him.

Formerly, a great deal was said about the excessive severity and violence exercised by the Emperor towards the individuals about his person. Now, however, it is acknowledged, that every one who served him adored him, precisely for his kindness of heart and manners. Since my return to Europe, a gentleman of high rank, whose name alone would be sufficient to command credit, and whose high functions kept him constantly about the person of the Emperor, in foreign expeditions, as well as in the interior of the palace, has assured me, that he never in his life knew Napoleon to strike a servant, except on one occasion. This was when one of his grooms, at the retreat of Saint Jean d'Acre, refused to give up his horse for the transport of the invalids, while he, the General-in-Chief, had surrendered up his, and had obliged all his staff to do so likewise. But, after all, added my informant, it was easy to perceive that this act was prompted by policy, rather than by natural severity of temper: the scene took place in the presence of dispirited troops, to whom it was necessary to give proofs of the lively interest that was felt for them.

It used to be a common remark, that Napoleon was no less morose to the individuals of his court, than to those in his service; and that he never had any thing complimentary or agreeable to say to any one. Among the multitude of facts that might be adduced in contradiction to this assertion, I will mention the following, to which I was myself a witness. On his return from the disastrous campaign of Leipsic, the Emperor received the officers of his household at an unusual hour. He presented himself to us with an air of melancholy. Stepping up to the individual who was next me, (M. de Beauveau, I think,) whose son, yet a youth, had served in the campaign, in the guard of honour, or some other corps, Napoleon said to him: "Your son's conduct has been admirable. He "has conferred honour on his name. He has been "wounded; but what of that? He may proudly "boast of having thus early shed his blood for his "country."

At the same period, at one of his levees, after giving some orders to General Gerard, whose reputation was then beginning to attract attention, the Emperor concluded with some words evidently kindly meant, though somewhat obscure. After advancing a few paces to continue his circuit, he turned back to General Gerard, apparently having read in his countenance, that he had not precisely understood him, and he said very distinctly: "I "observed, that if I had many men like you, I

" should consider all my losses repaired, and " should think myself master of my fortune."

About the same period I had an opportunity of witnessing a proof of the ascendency which the Emperor could exercise over the human mind, and the sort of veneration with which he was regarded. A General, whose name I do not know, and who had been severely wounded in the leg, attended the Emperor's levee. Napoleon had been informed that amputation was pronounced to be absolutely indispensable, but that the unfortunate officer obstinately refused to submit to it. " Why do you " object to an operation that will preserve your " life?" said Napoleon: " It cannot be want of " courage, since you have so often braved danger " on the field of battle! Is it contempt of life? " But does not your heart tell you, that even with " the remaining limb, you may be useful to your " country, and render her signal services?" The officer was silent; the expression of his countenance was calm and placid, but still negative. The Emperor seemed sorry for him, and passed on to speak to some other persons, when the officer, who had apparently formed a sudden resolution, turned to the Emperor, saying, " Sire, if your Majesty " orders me to submit to the operation, I will im- " mediately do so."—" My dear Sir," replied the Emperor, " I have no power to do that. I wished " to move you by persuasion; but heaven forbid " I should command you!" I think I have heard

it said, that on leaving the palace, the wounded officer submitted to the operation.

The Emperor, on his return from the Isle of Elba, arrived at the Tuileries very late in the evening. His levee on the following day, was, as may be supposed, exceedingly numerous. When the door was thrown open, and he presented himself before us, it would be difficult for me to explain what were my ideas and sensations. The Emperor appeared the same as usual; just as though he had never left the palace, and had held a levee but yesterday; his countenance, attitude, dress, manners, all were unaltered. I was powerfully affected, and I believe my sensations were shared by all present. The force of sentiment prevailed over respect; and all rushed forward to meet him. The Emperor himself was visibly moved; and he embraced several of the most distinguished persons. He then commenced his circuit as usual. His voice was mild, his countenance placid, and his manner affable: he spoke with kindness to every one. "How!" said he, addressing a certain individual, in a mingled tone of pleasantry and affection, "do I see "the Major-General of the white army within "two paces of me?" Several of the individuals present seemed to be labouring under a little embarrassment, owing to the extraordinary events that had just taken place; as for Napoleon, he appeared as though nothing had happened. He did

not forget that he had freed them all from their allegiance at Fontainebleau.

The following anecdotes prove his correctness of judgment, and coolness of temper. They also shew, that when at the summit of his power, his moderation and equity were never shaken, even in matters most directly personal, and on subjects on which he might have been presumed to be most delicate and susceptible.

When Moreau was arrested on the charge of being concerned in the affair of Georges and Pichegru, one of the First Consul's Aides-de-camp, who was, perhaps, also the Aide-de-camp of Moreau, or had served under his command, visited him in prison, and evinced great interest for him. "This is "all very natural," said Napoleon, on being informed of the circumstance, "I certainly cannot "blame such conduct; but I must appoint another "Aide-de-camp. The post is one of perfect con- "fidence and fidelity: there can be no division in "an affair so personal as this." Napoleon gave the command of a regiment to this Aide-de-camp (Col. Lacuée), who, some time after, perished at the head of his regiment, in one of the engagements which preceded the capitulation of Ulm.

About the same period, the Prefect of Liege, equally remarkable for his administrative talents and excellent character, was suddenly summoned to Paris; and he hastened thither, pleased with the

anticipation of the proofs of satisfaction which he trusted he should receive, because he deserved them. He was, however, invited by the Grand Judge to visit him before he should present himself to the First Consul; and he found himself unexpectedly interrogated, *ex officio*, on the subject of a letter that was presented to him. At first he could not deny the signature, so accurately had his own been imitated; but he positively disavowed the sentiments it contained. It consisted of a justification of Moreau, and was filled with imprecations against the Consul. The whole was an infamous plot, contrived by a high public functionary, an enemy of the Prefect, for the purpose of ruining him. The Prefect having proved that he knew nothing of the letter attributed to him, appeared at the First Consul's grand audience. Napoleon treated him with particular attention, and when he took his leave, he said to him, "Return "and resume your functions, which you know so "well how to fulfil. You carry with you my ut- "most esteem. Let this public testimony of your "good conduct console you for the painful feel- "ings that calumny and falsehood may have occa- "sioned to you."

The following will shew that Napoleon was not inclined hastily to condemn a certain degree of independence, even though it might be somewhat unreasonable:—

M. de Montalivet, who was Minister of the In-

terior during the Empire, has informed me, that being one day left alone with the Emperor, after a Council of Ministers, he thus addressed him:— "Sire, it is not without considerable embarrassment "that I presume to mention to your Majesty a cir- "cumstance which is certainly extremely ridicu- "lous; but a Prefect, a young Auditor, obstinately "persists in withholding from me the title which "custom has assigned to all your Ministers. Some "persons, holding inferior situations in my depart- "ment, observing that he never used the custo- "mary title of Monseigneur in speaking of me, "and thinking it an instance of affectation, very "absurdly required him, in my name, to observe "the formality; and he peremptorily refused. I "am quite ashamed that this affair should have "risen up; but as it is, the thing has been carried "to a point at which I cannot yield." At first, the Emperor could scarcely credit such obstinacy and folly on the part of the Prefect. After a short pause, he said to M. de Montalivet, smiling, "But after all, there is no such obligation specified "in the Code. The young man is perhaps good "fruit, though not yet ripe. However, this refrac- "tory conduct must be checked. Desire his father "to come to me; surely the young man will not "disobey his orders." What a delicate, moral sentiment was thus conveyed.

On the evening of the 20th of March, the Emperor had no sooner entered his apartments in the

Tuileries, than the Captain of Dragoons, G. D ..... appeared before him. He was the bearer of the capitulation of Vincennes, which had just been obtained by dint of extraordinary courage and address. Napoleon at first smiled at the details that were communicated to him; but being struck with the vehement manner and language of the narrator, and suddenly calling to mind the fate of Governor Puyvert at Vincennes, he hastily exclaimed, "But, Sir, you say nothing of the Governor; what "has become of him?—"Sire," resumed the officer, in a calmer tone, "he has been furnished "with a passport, and has been escorted out of "Paris." Napoleon then advanced, and seizing the officer's hand, with an expression that sufficiently betrayed the anxiety with which he had just been agitated, "I am satisfied," said he; "you "have done well, very well!"

I find, in one of my notes, that the Emperor once remarked, that the finest military letter he had ever read, was one written during the Consulate, by a soldier of the south, named Leon. From this high praise, it must of course be presumed, that the letter was a very extraordinary one. I myself know nothing of it; but I merely mention the circumstance, in the hope that some one may be induced to lay the document before the public, in case it should not be already upon record.

Napoleon, during his military career, fought sixty battles; Cæsar fought but fifty.

It was asked one day, in Napoleon's presence, how it happened that misfortunes that were yet uncertain, often distressed us more than miseries that had already been suffered. "Because," observed the Emperor, "in the imagination, as in "calculation, the power of what is unknown is "*incommensurable.*"

After having given any one an important mission, or traced out the plan of any great enterprise, the Emperor used frequently to say, "Come, Sir, "be speedy; use despatch; and do not forget that "the world was created in six days."

On an occasion of this kind, he concluded by observing to the individual whom he was addressing, "Ask me for whatever you please, except "*time:* that's the only thing that is beyond my "power."

On another occasion, Napoleon commissioned a person to execute some important business, which he expected would be finished in the course of the same day. It was not, however, completed until late on the following day. At this, the Emperor manifested some degree of dissatisfaction; and the individual, in the hope of excusing himself, said that he had worked all day. "But had "you not the night also?" replied Napoleon.

The Emperor directed particular attention to the improvement and embellishment of the markets of the capital. He used to say, "The market-"place is the Louvre of the common people."

Equality of rights, that is to say, the power of aspiring and obtaining, enjoyed by all individuals, was one of the points to which Napoleon attached particular importance. This regard for equality, was one of his peculiar traits, and seemed to belong innately to his character. "I have not reigned "all my life," he would say: "before I became a "Sovereign, I recollect having been a subject; "and I can never forget how powerfully the senti "ment of equality influences the mind, and ani- "mates the heart."

When he was once suggesting a law project, to be drawn up by one of his Counsellors of State, he said, "Let me charge you to respect liberty; "and above all, equality. With regard to liberty, "it might be possible to restrain it, in a case of "extremity; circumstances might demand and "justify such a step: but heaven forbid that we "should ever infringe upon equality! It is the "passion of the age; and I wish to continue to be "the man of the age!"

In Napoleon's eyes, merit was single, by itself, and he recompensed it uniformly. Thus the same titles, and the same decorations, were awarded equally to the ecclesiastic, the soldier, the artist, the philosopher, and the man of letters. It may truly be said, that in no other country or period was merit more highly honoured, or talent more magnificently rewarded. On these points, the Emperor's views were unlimited. I have already

mentioned that he one day said, "*If Corneille had "lived in my time, I would have made him a "prince.*"

The Emperor said one day at St. Helena, "Na- "ture seems to have calculated that I should have "to endure great reverses; for she has given me "a mind of marble. Thunder cannot ruffle it; "the shaft merely glides along."

At another time, when some vexation arose at St. Helena, an individual, who was near Napoleon at the time, exclaimed, "Ah, Sire, this must in- "deed increase your hatred of the English." Upon which the Emperor, shrugging up his shoulders, said, in a mingled tone of pleasantry and contempt, "Prejudiced man! Say rather that at most "it may increase my hatred of this or that particu- "lar Englishman. . . . But since we are on this "subject, let me tell you that a man, he who has "the true feelings of a man, never cherishes ha- "tred. His anger or ill humour never goes beyond "the irritation of the moment, — the electrical "stroke. He who is formed to discharge high du- "ties, and to exercise authority, never considers "persons; his views are directed to things, their "weight and consequence."

On a certain occasion, he remarked that he doubted not but his character would gain in proportion as it advanced in posterity; and that future historians would conceive themselves bound to avenge the injustice of contemporaries. Excess is

always succeeded by reaction. Besides, he was of opinion that when viewed from a distance, his character would appear in a more favourable light, by being relieved from many useless encumbrances. He would hereafter be judged by general views, and not by petty details. Every thing would be in harmony, and all local irregularities would disappear. Above all, he would not be compared with himself; but with what might exist at a future period. He added, that now, as hereafter, he could proudly submit every act of his private life to the most rigid scrutiny, confident that the severest judges would pronounce him to be free of crime.

The Emperor one day told me that he had conceived the idea of composing his *Diplomatic History*, or a complete account of his negotiations, from Campo Formio to his abdication. If he should have fulfilled his design, what an historical treasure will thus be presented to the world!

Speaking of military eloquence, the Emperor said, "When, in the heat of the battle, passing "along the line, I used to exclaim, 'Soldiers, un- "furl your banners, the moment is come,' our "Frenchmen absolutely leapt for joy. I saw them "multiply a hundred fold. I then thought nothing "impossible."

Many of Napoleon's military harangues are well known. The following has been communicated to me by an individual who heard it on the spot.

When reviewing the 2d regiment of horse chasseurs at Lobenstein, two days before the battle of Jena, Napoleon addressing the Colonel, said: "How many men are there here?"—"Five hun-"dred," replied the Colonel; "but there are many "raw troops among them."—"What signifies "that," said the Emperor, in a tone which denoted surprise at the observation, "are they not all "Frenchmen?"—Then turning to the regiment, "My lads," said he, "you must not fear death. "When soldiers brave death, they drive him into "the enemy's ranks." He here made a motion with his arm expressive of the action to which he alluded. At these words a sudden movement among the troops accompanied by a murmur of enthusiasm, seemed to foretel the memorable victory of Rosbach, which took place forty-eight hours after.

At the battle of Lutzen the army was chiefly composed of conscripts, who had never been in any engagement. It is said that in the heat of the action, Napoleon rode along the rear of the 3d rank of infantry, supporting and encouraging the young troops. "This is nothing, my lads," said he, "stand firm. France has her eye on you. Shew "that you can die for your country."

Napoleon entertained a high regard for the Germans. "I levied many millions of imposts on "them, it is true," said he, "that was necessary; "but I should never have insulted them or treated

"them with contempt. I esteemed the Germans. "They may hate me; that is natural enough. I "was forced for ten years to fight over the dead "bodies of their countrymen. They could not "know my real designs or give me credit for my "ultimate intentions, which were calculated to "render Germany a great nation."

The Emperor, alluding to one of his decisions, remarked:—"I could do nothing in that case, I "suffered myself to be moved, and I yielded. "There I was wrong: a statesman's heart should "be in his head."

Napoleon observed that the physical faculties of men were strengthened by their dangers or wants: "Thus," said he, "the Bedouin of the desert has "the piercing sight of the lynx; and the savage "of the forest has the keen scent of wild "animals."

One day mention was made of an individual who, though distinguished for his ideas and his acts, nevertheless betrayed gross faults in his manners and mode of expressing himself. The Emperor explained this discordance by saying: "You see the "fault is in his first education; his swaddling "clothes have been neither fine nor clean."

When speaking of the danger he had incurred among the Five Hundred, on the 18th Brumaire, he attributed it militarily to local circumstances. He had been obliged to enter the Orangery at one of the extremities, and to pass along the whole length of it.

"The misfortune was," said he, "that instead "of facing my opponents, I was compelled to "present my flank to them."

When we were alluding to an individual who seemed to think he could overawe us by speaking almost in the tone and language of menace, the Emperor said: "This is a very absurd idea. "Nobody is afraid now. A child would not be "afraid. Even little Emmanuel, (pointing to my "son) would exchange pistol shots with any one "who might require him to do so." These words of the Emperor, will probably influence my son throughout the rest of his life.

Napoleon, on his return from the Russian campaign, was so struck by the courage and strength of mind displayed by Ney, that he created him Prince of the Moskowa, and he was often heard to say: "I have two hundred millions in my coffers, "and I would give them all for Ney."

Remarking on the certainty of the ultimate triumph of modern principles, the Emperor said: "They cannot but triumph. Mark the train of "events: even oppression now-a-days, turns to "the disadvantage of the oppressor."

On a certain occasion it was observed to the Emperor, that he was not fond of setting forward his own merits: "That is," replied he "because "with me morality and generosity are not in my "mouth, but in my nerves. My hand of iron was "not at the extremity of my arm, it was imme-

" diately connected with my head. I did not re-
" ceive it from nature; calculation alone has
" enabled me to employ it."

Speaking of the ill humour and discontent frequently evinced by the inhabitants of Paris, the Emperor asked what he was expected to do after all he had accomplished. " Sire," said some one present, " it was wished that your Majesty should " stop your horse." " Stop my horse!" resumed Napoleon, " that was easily said. My arm was " strong enough, it is true, to stop with a single " check, all the horses of the continent. But I " could not bridle the English fleets: and there " lay all the mischief. Had not the people sense " enough to see this?"

One day when the Emperor was reproaching an individual for not correcting the vices which he knew he possessed, " Sir," said he, " when a man " knows his moral infirmity, he may cure his " mind, just as he would cure his arm or his leg."

The Emperor, speaking of the nobility which he had created, regretted that it had been so ill understood. It was, he said, one of his grandest and happiest ideas. He had in view three objects of the highest importance, and all three would have been accomplished: 1st, to reconcile France with Europe, and to restore harmony, by seeming to adopt European customs; 2d, by the same means to bring about a complete reconciliation and union between old and new France; and 3d,

to banish feudal nobility, the only kind that is offensive, oppressive and unnatural. "By my "plan," said the Emperor, "I should soon have "succeeded in substituting positive and meri- "torious qualities for antiquated and odious pre- "judices. My national titles would have exactly "restored that equality which feudal nobility "proscribed. They were conferred as the reward "of merit of every kind. For genealogical parch- "ments I substituted noble actions, and for private "interests, the interests of the country. Family "pride would no longer have been founded on "obscure and imaginary circumstances, but would "have rested on the noblest pages of our history. "Finally I would have banished the odious pre- "tension of blood; an absurd idea, a theory that "has no real existence; for we all know very well "that there is but one race of men, and that one is "not born with boots on his legs, and another with "a pack saddle on his back.

"All the nobility in Europe, those who really "govern it, were pleased with my plan. They "unanimously applauded an institution, the "novelty of which enhanced its pre-eminence; "and yet this very novelty would have sapped its "foundation, and infallibly have destroyed it. "Why did that opinion, to which I had secured "a triumph, precisely serve the purpose of its "enemies? But I have suffered this misfortune "oftener than once."

On the Difficulties which History presents. — Georges, Pichegru, Moreau, the Duke d'Enghien.

20th.—"It must be admitted, my dear Las Cases," said the Emperor to me to-day, "it is "most difficult to obtain absolute certainties "for the purposes of history. Fortunately it "is, in general, more a matter of mere curiosity "than of real importance. There are so many "kinds of truths! The truth which Fouché, "or other intriguers of his stamp, will tell, for "instance; even that which many very honest "people may tell, will, in some cases, differ essen- "tially from the truth which I may relate. The "truth of history, so much in request, to which every "body eagerly appeals, is too often but a word. "At the time of the events, during the heat of "conflicting passions, it cannot exist; and if, at a "later period, all parties are agreed respecting it, "it is because those persons who were interested "in the events, those who might be able to con- "tradict what is asserted, are no more. What "then is, generally speaking, the truth of history? "A fable agreed upon. As it has been very inge- "niously remarked, there are, in these matters, "two essential points, very distinct from each "other: the positive facts, and the moral inten- "tions. With respect to the positive facts, it "would seem that they ought to be incontrovert-

" ible; yet you will not find two accounts agreeing
" together in relating the same fact: some have
" remained contested points to this day, and will
" ever remain so. With regard to moral inten-
" tions, how shall we judge of them, even admit-
" ting the candour of those who relate events?
" And what will be the case if the narrators be
" not sincere, or if they should be actuated by
" interest or passions? I have given an order, but
" who was able to read my thoughts, my real
" intentions? Yet every one will take up that
" order, and measure it according to his own scale,
" or adapt it to his own plans or system. See the
" different colourings that will be given to it by
" the intriguer, whose plans it disturbs or favours:
" see how he will distort it. The man who
" assumes importance, to whom the ministers
" or the sovereign may have hinted something in
" confidence on the subject, will do the same
" thing; as will the numerous idlers of the pa-
" lace, who, having nothing better to do than to
" listen under windows, and invent when they
" have not heard. And each person will be so
" certain of what he tells! and the inferior classes
" of people, who will have received their infor-
" mation from these privileged individuals, will
" be so certain, in their turn, of its correctness!
" and then memoirs are digested, memoranda are
" written, witticisms and anecdotes are circulated;
" and of such materials is history composed!"

"I have seen the plan of my own battle, the "intention of my own orders disputed with me, "and opinion decide against me! Is not that the "creature giving the lie to its creator? Never- "theless, my opponent, who contradicts me, will "have his adherents. This it is which has prevented "me from writing my own private memoirs, from "disclosing my individual feelings, which would, "naturally, have exhibited the shades of my private "character. I could not condescend to write "confessions, after the manner of Jean Jaques "Rousseau, which every body might have attacked; "and, therefore, I have thought proper to confine "the subjects of my dictations here to public acts. "I am aware that even these relations may be con- "tested; for where is the man in this world, what- "ever be his right, and the strength and power of "that right, who may not be attacked and contra- "dicted by an adverse party? But in the eyes of "those men who are wise and impartial, of those "who reflect and are reasonable, my voice, after "all, will be as good as another's; and I have little "dread of the final decision. So much light has been "diffused in our days, that I rely upon the splen- "dour that will remain after passions shall have "subsided, and clouds have passed away. But, in "the mean time, how many errors will arise! "People will often give me credit for a great deal "of depth and sagacity on occasions which were, "perhaps, most simple in themselves; I shall be

" suspected of plans which I never formed.* It " will be inquired whether I did or did not aspire, " in reality, to universal dominion. The ques- " tion will be argued, at length, whether my " absolute sway and my arbitrary acts were the " result of my character or of my calculations; " whether they were determined by my own incli- " nation or by the influence of circumstances; " whether I was led into the wars in which I was " constantly engaged, by my own taste, or against " my will; whether my insatiable ambition, which " has been so much deprecated, was kindled by the " thirst for dominion and glory, or by my love of " order and my concern for the general welfare; " for that ambition will deserve to be considered " under all those different aspects. People will " canvass the motives which guided me in the " catastrophe of the Duke d'Enghein,† and so on " with respect to many other events. Sometimes

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* A man of great understanding and information, who had enjoyed much of the Emperor's confidence, and had had a great deal to do with the Emperor directly, said to me, after the first abdication, with the appearance of intimate conviction, that Napoleon's plan had been to abandon Paris, after he should have completed his conquests, and to make Rome the capital of the Empire. I had, at that time, so little knowledge of the Emperor, that this intelligence staggered me; but now I cannot help inquiring where my historian could have got this idea?

† It is well known to how many different versions, to how many various conjectures, this sad event gave rise.

" they will distort what was perfectly straight, and
" refine upon what was quite natural. It was not
" for me to treat upon all those subjects here: it
" would have appeared as if I were pleading my
" cause—and that I disdain to do. If the rectitude
" and the sagacity of historians can enable them
" to form, from what I have dictated on general
" matters, a correct opinion and just notions re-
" specting those things which I have not men-
" tioned, so much the better. But along with the
" faint ray thus afforded, how many false lights
" will appear to them! From the fables and false-
" hoods of the great intriguers, (who all had their
" views, their plots, their private negotiations,
" which, being mixed up with the main objects,
" tend to render the whole an inextricable chaos,)
" to the disclosures, *the portfolios*, and even the
" assertions of my ministers, who, with the best
" intentions, will have to state not so much what
" really existed, as what they believe to have
" existed; for which of them ever possessed the
" entire general conception of my mind? Their
" share of it was, most frequently, one of the ele-
" ments of a great whole, which they did not
" know. They will, therefore, only have seen that
" side of the prism which concerned them; and,
" even then, how will they have seen it? Did it
" reach them entire? Was it not already broken?
" And yet probably every one of them, judging

" from what he has seen, will give the fantastical " result of his own combinations as my true " system; and here again we have the admitted " fable, which will be called history. Nor can it " be otherwise. It is true that as there are many, " they will be far from agreeing together. How- " ever in their positive assertions they would have " the advantage over me: for I should very fre- " quently have found it most difficult to affirm " confidently, what had been my whole and entire " thoughts on any given subject. It is well known " that I did not strive to subject circumstances to " my ideas; but that I in general suffered myself " on the contrary to be led by them; and who can " calculate beforehand the chances of accidental " circumstances or unexpected events? I have, " therefore, often found it necessary to alter essen- " tially my plan of proceeding, and have acted " through life upon general principles, rather than " according to fixed plans. The mass of the general " interests of mankind, what I considered to be " the advantage of the greater number, such were " the anchors on which I relied, but around " which I most frequently floated at the caprice of " chance," &c. &c.

After these memorable expressions, the present is the best opportunity of returning to an historical point which I have long since promised to treat upon, (See Part I.) and which

ought to have found a place long before this; I allude to the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru, and the trial of the Duke d'Enghien. I shall presently state the true reasons of this transposition, and of the long delay that has occurred.

"War," said the Emperor, "had some time since "recommenced with England, when suddenly "our coasts, our high roads, and the capital, were "inundated with agents from the Bourbons. A "great number of them were arrested; but their "plans could not yet be discovered. They were "of all ranks and descriptions. All the pas- "sions were roused, the agitation of the public "became extreme; a storm was gathering; the "crisis assumed the most alarming aspect; the "agents of the police had exhausted all their means, "without being able to obtain any information. "My own sagacity saved me," observed Napoleon. "Having risen on one occasion in the night, to "work, as I used frequently to do, *chance, which "governs the world*, directed my eyes to one of "the last reports of the police, containing the "names of those persons who had already been "arrested in consequence of this affair, to which "no clew had yet been obtained. Amongst those "names I observed that of a surgeon in the army; "I immediately concluded that such a man must "be an intriguer rather than a devoted fanatic, "and I ordered every measure likely to extort a "prompt confession to be instantly resorted to

"against him. The affair was immediately placed "in the hands of a military commission; in the "morning he was sentenced, and threatened with "immediate execution if he did not speak. Half "an hour afterwards he had disclosed every thing, "even to the most minute details. The nature "and the extent of the plot, which had been got "up in London, was then known, and the in-"trigues of Moreau, and the presence of Pichegru "in Paris, &c. &c. were discovered soon after."

I omit all the details of that affair; they may be seen in the letters written from the Cape, in refutation of those of Dr. Warden, and in the work of Mr. O'Meara. The particulars which I should relate, would be precisely the same as those contained in the work last mentioned; they are derived from the same source. With respect to the accusation relative to the death of Pichegru, who was said to have been strangled by order of the First Consul, Napoleon said that it was too absurd, and that it would be degrading to attempt to repel it:—"What advantage," he observed, "could "accrue to me from his death? A man of my "stamp does not act without some powerful "motive. Have I ever been known to shed blood "through caprice? Notwithstanding all the efforts "that have been made to blacken my reputation "and misrepresent my character, those who know "me, know that crime is foreign to my nature. "There is not a private act that has occurred

" during the whole course of my administration, " of which I might not speak openly before a " tribunal, not only without any disadvantage, " but even with some credit to myself. The " fact is, that Pichegru found himself placed in " a hopeless situation; his high mind could not " bear to contemplate the infamy of a public " execution; he despaired of my clemency, or dis- " dained to appeal to it, and put an end to his " existence.

" Had I been disposed to crime," continued the Emperor, " it is not against Pichegru, who could " do no harm, that I should have levelled the " blow, but at *Moreau*, who had at that moment " placed me in a most perilous situation. If the " latter had unfortunately also killed himself while " in prison, my justification would have been ren- " dered much more difficult, on account of the " great advantage it would have been to me to get " rid of him. You gentlemen who were abroad, " and the ultra-royalists who were in France, have " never known the true state of public opinion in " France. Pichegru having been once unmasked, " and exposed as a traitor to the nation, no longer " excited sympathy in any breast; and this feeling " went so far, that the circumstance of his being " connected with Moreau was sufficient to effect " the ruin of the latter, who saw himself abandoned " by many of his adherents; for in the struggle of " parties, the majority of the people cared more

" about the commonwealth than about individuals.
" I judged so correctly in this business, that when
" Real came to propose to me to arrest Moreau, I
" rejected the proposal without hesitation. Moreau
" is a man of too much importance, said I to him;
" he is too directly opposed to me, I have too great
" an interest in getting rid of him, to expose
" myself thus to the conjectures of public opinion.
" But, replied Real, if Moreau conspires with
" Pichegru?—The case is then different; prove
" that to me, shew me that Pichegru is in Paris,
" and I will instantly sign the order for the appre-
" hension of Moreau. Real had received indirect
" information of Pichegru's arrival; but had not
" yet been able to trace his steps. Run to his
" brother's, said I; if he has left his residence, it
" will be a strong indication that Pichegru is in
" Paris; if he is still in his lodgings, arrest him:
" his surprise will soon inform you of the truth.
" This brother had been a monk, and lived in a
" fourth floor in Paris. As soon as he found him-
" self arrested, he asked, before any question was
" put to him, what fault he had committed, and
" whether it was imputed to him as a crime that he
" had received against his will, a visit from his bro-
" ther. He had been the first, he said, to represent
" to him the peril of his situation, and to advise him
" to go away again. This was quite enough, Mo-
" reau's arrest was ordered and carried into effect.
" Moreau appeared at first to be under no appre-

" hension ; but when he found, after he had been " conducted into prison, that he was arrested for " having conspired, together with Pichegru and " Georges, against the state, he was quite discon- " certed, and extremely agitated. As for the " greater number of those who composed that " party," added Napoleon, " the name of Pichegru " seemed to them a triumph ; they exclaimed on " all sides that Pichegru was in London, and that " in a few days this would be proved ; for they " either did not know that he was in Paris, or " believed that it would be easy for him to escape " thence."

The First Consul had long since broken off with Moreau, who was entirely governed by his wife. " This, said the Emperor, is always a great mis- " fortune, because a man in that case is neither " himself nor his wife, he is nothing." Moreau shewed himself sometimes favourable to the First Consul, and sometimes against him ; sometimes obsequious and sometimes sarcastic. The First Consul, who had wished to conciliate the affection of Moreau, found himself under the necessity of giving him up altogether. " Moreau," he had said, " will in the end commit himself most seriously ; " he will some day break his head against the " columns of the Palace." And to this he was but too much instigated by the inconsiderate conduct and the ridiculous pretensions of his wife and his mother-in-law. The latter went so far as to con-

tend for precedence with the wife of the First Consul. "The minister for foreign affairs," said Napoleon, "had been obliged once, on the occasion "of a *fête* given by the ministers, to use violence "to oblige her to desist."

After Moreau had been arrested, the First Consul sent him word, that it would be enough for him to confess that he had seen Pichegru, in order to put a stop to all proceedings against him. Moreau answered by a letter, in which he assumed a high tone; but afterwards, when Pichegru himself was arrested, and the affair began to assume a serious aspect, Moreau wrote to the First Consul a very submissive letter, but it was too late.

It was perfectly true that Moreau had conferred with Pichegru and Georges; and had given the following answer to their proposals:—"In the "present state of affairs I could not do any thing "for you, I could not even depend upon my own "aides-de-camp; but *get rid* of the First Consul, I "have a party in the Senate, and shall be imme- "diately appointed in his stead. You, Pichegru, "will be examined upon the charge which is "brought against you, of having betrayed the "national cause; depend upon it, it is necessary "that you should be put upon your trial, but I will "be answerable for the result: from that moment "you will be Second Consul; and we will after- "wards choose a third according to our wish, and "proceed all together in concert and without in-

" terruption." Georges, who was present, and whom Moreau had never known before, very urgently claimed that third place for himself. " That cannot be," said Moreau, " you have no " knowledge of the state of public opinion in " France ; you have always been a white,* and you " see that Pichegru will be obliged to wash off the " stain of having had the intention to become one." " I understand you," said Georges, highly incensed. " What farce are we playing here, and whom do you " take me for ? You are then working for yourselves " alone, and not at all for the King ? If that is the " case, and if there must be a blue at the head of " the government, I prefer the one who is there " now." Upon this they separated in dudgeon, and Moreau requested Pichegru not to bring that brute, that bull, devoid of sense and of all information, any more.

" On the trial," said Napoleon, " the firmness " of the accomplices, the magnanimity by which " they dignified their cause, and the line of abso- " lute denial recommended by his Counsel, saved " Moreau. On being questioned whether the " charges brought against him of having held " conferences and had interviews were true, he " answered, *no*. But the victor of Hohenlinden " was unaccustomed to falsehood ; a sudden blush " suffused every feature of his countenance, and

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* A Royalist. † A man of the revolutionary party.

" none of the by-standers were deceived. How-
" ever, he was acquitted, and most of the accom-
" plices were condemned to death. I pardoned
" several of them; all those whose wives suc-
" ceeded in penetrating into my presence, or in
" whose favour strong intercessions were made,
" obtained their lives. The Polignacs, M. de Ri-
" vieres and others, would indubitably have pe-
" rished, but for the intervention of some fortunate
" circumstances. Others, less known, such as a
" man named Borel, Ingand de St. Maur, De Ro-
" chelle, &c. &c. were equally fortunate. It is
" true," added he, " that they did not afterwards
" shew themselves very grateful for such a favour,
" and that, if they were worthy to have their
" conduct investigated, it would be found, that
" their actions have not been of a nature to en-
" courage clemency. One of them, who had on
" the occasion above mentioned, owed his life
" chiefly to the solicitations of Murat, was precisely
" the same man who set a price on Murat's head
" in Provence, in the year 1805. If he thought
" that fidelity should outweigh gratitude, the sacri-
" fice must at least have been most painful to him.
" Another is the man who has most contributed
" to circulate the imputation, as ridiculous as that
" concerning Pichegru was absurd, of the murder
" of the English Lieutenant Wright,* &c.

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* See Letters from the Cape.

" In the midst of the affairs of Georges, Pichegru, " and Moreau," said the Emperor; " that of the " Duke d'Enghien happened, and rendered the " whole a strange complication." And he then related that affair in detail. This latter circumstance, is the reason that induced me at the time to displace and postpone to this day the totality of the article which I now give, for I felt a very great repugnance to touch upon a subject so painful in itself, and so afflicting to several of my acquaintances, who had been in direct relation with the Prince, or personally attached to him. Above all, I dreaded to awaken the legitimate grief of a high personage, who has formerly honoured me with some marks of kindness, of which I have ever treasured the recollection. These are my motives; they will be understood and appreciated. But, however, I am now approaching to the end of my work, and my duty as a faithful historian, imperiously commands that I should take up this melancholy subject, lest my absolute silence should be misinterpreted. Nevertheless, I shall, for reasons before stated, omit all the details which are already known, and which may have been read in the works already quoted: (Letters from the Cape, and Mr. O'Meara's work:) my account would be the same, for all of them were heard from Napoleon's own mouth; I shall only relate a few particulars which have not found their way into the books above mentioned, and only such as appear

to me too intimately connected with the characteristic shades of Napoleon's disposition, not to impose upon me the obligation of mentioning them.

This event had made, at the time, a deep impression on my mind, as well as on that of the inhabitants of Paris. I, perhaps, had felt it still more forcibly, on account of the principles of my childhood, the habits and connexions of my younger days, and the line of my political opinions; and I was at that time, far from having got the better of this feeling. That first impression had still remained in all its force, and my ideas on this point were such, that I should certainly not have dared to pronounce the name of the Prince, in the presence of the Emperor; it would have seemed to me, to convey the idea of a reproach. I carried the feeling so far, that the first time I heard him pronounce the name himself, I turned red with embarrassment. Fortunately, I was walking behind him in a narrow path; otherwise, he would certainly have observed my confusion. Yet, notwithstanding all these previous dispositions on my part, the first time the Emperor developed this affair in all its general bearings, its details, and circumstances; when I heard him expose his various motives, with that conciseness, brilliancy, and power of persuasion which form the characteristics of his logic, I must confess, the affair seemed to wear a new aspect. When he had ceased to speak, I remained surprised, absorbed in

thought; I silently called to mind my former objections, I was angry with myself for having little or nothing to answer at this moment, and I was obliged to confess internally that I found myself stronger in feelings than in arguments, or solid objections.

The Emperor often resumed this subject, which gave me an opportunity of observing in him some characteristic shades very strongly marked. I have on those occasions, most distinctly and frequently seen in him the private man struggling against the public character; and the natural feelings of his heart contending against those which were suggested by his pride, and the dignity of his station. In the unreserved moments of familiar intercourse, he shewed himself not indifferent to the fate of the unfortunate Prince; but, if his conversation had reference to public concerns, it was altogether quite a different thing. One day, having spoken to me of the youth, and the untimely en of this ill-fated Prince, he concluded by saying "And I have since learnt, my dear Las Cases, "that he was favourable to me. I have been "assured, that he used to speak of me with some "degree of admiration; such is retributive justice "in this world!" These last words were pronounced with such an expression, every feature of his face was so much in harmony with that expression, that I have no doubt, that if the individual whom Napoleon pitied, had been at that

moment in his power, he would have been eagerly forgiven, whatever his acts or intentions might have been. This was no doubt a sentiment expressed in an unguarded moment, in which I had as it were taken him by surprise, and I do not suppose that many persons have found themselves similarly placed. This delicate subject was too sensibly conected with Napoleon's pride, and the peculiar cast of his mind, to allow him to be lavish in his expression of such feelings; and he therefore varied his arguments and his words on the subject, as the circle of his hearers increased. We have just seen how he expressed himself in the confidence of a private conversation; his language was even different, when we were all assembled together: the affair, he would then say, might have occasioned him some regret, but had not given rise to any remorse, nor even to any scruples. But when there were any strangers present, he would pronounce that the Prince had deserved his fate.

The Emperor used to consider this affair under two very distinct aspects: with reference to the common law, or the established rules of justice, and with reference to the law of nature, or acts of violence. With us he would willingly argue the matter, and generally on the principles of common law; and he seemed to condescend to do so on account of the familiarity that existed between us, or of his superiority over us. He

generally concluded these conversations by observing, that he might possibly be reproached with severity, but that he could not be accused of any violation of justice; because, notwithstanding all that calumny and falsehood had invented on the subject, all the forms required by law had been regularly observed and strictly attended to.

In the presence of strangers, the Emperor adopted a line of argument founded almost exclusively on the law of nature and state politics. It was visible that it would have been too painful to him so far to lower himself with them, as to insist much on the principles of common law; to have done so would have appeared like an attempt to justify himself. "If I had not had in my favour "the laws of the country to punish the culprit," he would say to them, "I should still have had "the right of the law of nature, of legitimate self-"defence. The Duke and his party had constantly "but one object in view, that of taking away my "life: I was assailed on all sides, and at every in-"stant; air guns, infernal machines, plots, ambus-"cades of every kind, were resorted to for that "purpose. At last I grew weary, and took an "opportunity of striking them with terror in their "turn in London; I succeeded, and from that "moment there was an end to all conspiracies. "Who can blame me for having acted so? What! "blows threatening my existence are aimed at me "day after day, from a distance of one hundred

" and fifty leagues; no power on earth, no tribu-
" nal can afford me redress; and I shall not be
" allowed to use the right of nature, and return
" war for war! What man, unbiassed by party feel-
" ing, possessing the smallest share of judgment
" and justice, can take upon himself to condemn
" me? on what side will he not throw blame,
" odium, and criminal accusations? Blood for
" blood; such is the natural, inevitable, and infal-
" lible law of retaliation: woe to him who pro-
" vokes it! Those who foment civil dissensions
" or excite political commotions, expose them-
" selves to become the victims of them. It would
" be a proof of imbecility or madness, to imagine
" and pretend that a whole family should have the
" strange privilege to threaten my existence, day
" after day, without giving me the right of reta-
" liation: they could not reasonably pretend to
" be above the law to destroy others, and claim
" the benefit of it for their own preservation: the
" chances must be equal. I had never personally
" offended any of them; a great nation had cho-
" sen me to govern them, almost all Europe had
" sanctioned their choice; my blood, after all, was
" not ditch-water; it was time to place it on a par
" with theirs. And what if I had carried retalia-
" tion further? I might have done it: the dis-
" posal of their destiny, the heads of every one of
" them, from the highest to the lowest, were more
" than once offered to me; but I rejected the offer

" with indignation. Not that I thought it would " be unjust for me to consent to it, in the situa- " tion to which they had reduced me; but I felt " so powerful, I thought myself so secure, that I " should have considered it a base and gratuitous " act of cowardice. My great maxim has always " been, that in war as well as in politics, every " evil action, even if legal, can only be excused " in case of absolute necessity: whatever goes " beyond that is criminal.

" It would have been ridiculous in those who " violated so openly the law of nations, to appeal " to it themselves. The violation of the territory " of Baden, of which so much has been said, is " entirely foreign to the main point of the ques- " tion. The law of the inviolability of territory " has not been devised for the benefit of the guilty, " but merely for the preservation of the indepen- " dence of nations, and of the dignity of the " sovereign. It was therefore for the Duke of " Baden, and for him alone, to complain, and he " did not; he yielded, no doubt, to violence and " to the sentiment of his political inferiority; but " even then, what has that to do with the merits " of the plots and outrages which I had to com- " plain of, and of which I had every right to be " revenged?" And he concluded that the real authors of the dreadful catastrophe, the persons who alone were responsible for it, were those who had favoured and excited from abroad the plots

formed against the life of the First Consul. "For," said he, "either they had implicated the unfortu-"nate Prince in them, and had thus sealed his "doom; or, by neglecting to give him intimation "of what was going forward, they had suffered "him to slumber imprudently on the brink of the "precipice, and to be so near the frontiers at the "moment when so great a blow was going to be "struck in the name, and for the interest of his "family."

To us, in the intimacy of private conversation, the Emperor would say, that the blame in France might be ascribed to an excess of zeal in those who surrounded him, or to dark intrigues or private views; that he had been precipitately urged on in this affair; that they had as it were taken his mind unawares; and that his measures had been hastened, and their result anticipated. "I "was one day alone," said he, "I recollect it well; "I was taking my coffee, half seated on the table "at which I had just dined; when sudden infor-"mation is brought to me, that a new conspiracy "has been discovered. I am warmly urged to put "an end to these enormities; they represent to "me that it is time at last to give a lesson to those "who have been day after day conspiring against "my life; that this end can only be attained by "shedding the blood of one of them; and that the "Duke d'Enghien, who might now be convicted "of forming part of this new conspiracy, and taken

" in the very act, should be that one. It was added, " that he had been seen at Strasburg; that it was " even believed that he had been in Paris; and " that the plan was, that he should enter France " by the east, at the moment of the explosion, " whilst the Duke of Berry was disembarking in " the west. I should tell you," observed the Emperor, " that I did not even know precisely who " the Duke d'Enghien was (the Revolution having " taken place when I was yet a very young man, " and I having never been at court); and that I " was quite in the dark as to where he was at that " moment. Having been informed on those points, " I exclaimed, that if such were the case, the Duke " ought to be arrested, and that orders should be " given to that effect. Every thing had been fore- " seen and prepared; the different orders were " already drawn up, nothing remained to be done " but to sign them, and the fate of the young " Prince was thus decided. He had been residing " for some time past, at a distance of about " three leagues from the Rhine, in the States of " Baden. Had I been sooner aware of this fact, " and of its importance, I should have taken um- " brage at it, and should not have suffered the " Prince to remain so near the frontiers of France; " and that circumstance, as it happened, would " have saved his life. As for the assertions that " were advanced at the time, that I had been stre- " nuously opposed in this affair, and that numerous

" solicitations had been made to me, they are ut-
" terly false, and were only invented to make me
" appear in a more odious light. The same thing
" may be said of the various motives that have been
" ascribed to me; these motives may have existed
" in the bosoms of those who acted an inferior part
" on this occasion, and may have guided them in
" their private views; but my conduct was in-
" fluenced only by the nature of the fact itself, and
" the energy of my disposition. Undoubtedly, if
" I had been informed in time of certain circum-
" stances respecting the opinions of the Prince,
" and his disposition, if, above all, I had seen the
" letter which he wrote to me, and which, God
" knows for what reason, was only delivered to me
" after his death, I should certainly have forgiven
" him." It was easy for us to perceive that these expressions of the Emperor were dictated by his heart and by nature, and that they were only intended for us; for he would have felt himself much humbled, had he supposed that any body could think for a moment that he endeavoured to shift the blame upon some other person; or that he condescended to justify himself. And this feeling was carried so far, that when he was speaking to strangers, or dictating on that subject for the public eye, he confined himself to saying that if he had seen the Prince's letter, he should perhaps have forgiven him, on account of the great political advantages that he might have derived from so doing;

and in tracing with his own hand his last thoughts, which he concludes will be recorded in the present age, and reach posterity, he still pronounces on this subject, which he is aware will be considered the most delicate for his memory, that if he were again placed in the same situation, he should again act in the same manner!! Such was the man, such the stamp of his mind, and the turn of his disposition.

Let those who delight in searching the human heart in its innermost recesses, to deduce consequences and draw conclusions, now exercise their ingenuity; I have supplied them with valuable materials, I have laid genuine documents before them. I will add another and a last, which will not be the least worthy of notice.

Napoleon one day said to me, with reference to the same subject, "If I occasioned a general consternation by that melancholy event, what an universal feeling of horror would have been produced by another spectacle with which I might have surprised the world! . . .

"I have frequently been offered the lives of those, whose places I filled on the throne, at the rate of one million a head. They were seen to be my competitors, and it was supposed that I thirsted after their blood; but even if my disposition had been different from what it was, had I been formed to commit crimes, I should have

" repelled all thoughts of the crime thus proposed
" to me, as seeming altogether gratuitous. I was
" then so powerful, so firmly seated; and they
" seemed so little to be feared! Revert to the
" periods of Tilsit and Wagram; to my marriage
" with Maria Louisa; to the state and attitude of
" Europe! However, in the midst of the crisis of
" the affair of Georges and Pichegru, when I was
" assailed by murderers, the moment was thought
" favourable to tempt me, and the offer was re-
" newed, having for its object the individual, whom
" public opinion, in England as well as in France,
" pointed out as chief mover of all these horrible
" conspiracies. I was at Boulogne, where the
" bearer of these offers arrived; I took it into my
" head to ascertain personally the truth and the
" nature of the proposal. I ordered him to be
" brought before me.—'Well, Sir!' said I, when
" he appeared.—'Yes, First Consul, we will give
" him up to you for one million.'—'Sir, I will
" give you two millions; but on condition that
" you will bring him alive.'—'Ah! that I could
" not promise,' said the man, hesitating, and much
" disconcerted by the tone of my voice and the
" expression of my looks at that moment.—'Do
" you then take me for a mere assassin? Know
" Sir, that though I may think it necessary to in-
" flict a punishment, or make a great example, I
" am not disposed to encourage the perfidy of ar

" ambuscade ;' and I drove him from my presence. " Indeed his mere presence was already too great " a contamination."

The Servant who had been taken away from me, comes secretly to pay me a Visit.—His Offers.—Second Visit. —Third Visit.—I intrust to him my Letter to Prince Lucien, which causes my Removal from St. Helena.

From 21st to 24th.—I had remained with the Emperor the preceding day, as late as one or two o'clock in the morning ; on returning to my own apartment, I found that I had had a visit paid to me, during my absence, by a person who had become tired of waiting for me.

That *visit*, which my son had received, and which prudence obliged me to insert in my journal, at the time, under the veil of mystery, may and shall now be fully explained.

That visit was neither more nor less than the mysterious re-appearance of the servant, whom Sir Hudson Lowe had taken from me, and who, favoured by the darkness of the night, and his knowledge of the localities of the island, had surmounted every obstacle, avoided sentinels, and scaled precipices, to come and see me, in order to tell me that, having got a situation with a person who was going to set off for London in a very few days, he came to offer me his services without reserve. He had waited for me in my own apartment for a considerable time, and seeing that I did not return

from the Emperor's, he had gone away, fearing lest he should be caught; but he promised to return, either under pretence of visiting his sister, who was employed in our household; or by having recourse to the same means he had just resorted to.

The next day, I immediately communicated my good fortune to the Emperor, who appeared much pleased at the intelligence, and to attach some value to the circumstance. I was very warm on the subject; I strenuously urged, that we had already been here above a year, without having taken one single step towards the prospect of better days; on the contrary, we were every day more and more restricted, ill used, and tormented. We were lost in the universe; Europe was ignorant of our real situation; it behoved us to make it known. Day after day, the newspapers shewed us the veil of imposture which had been thrown over us, and the impudent and disgusting falsehoods of which we were the objects; it was for us, I urged, to publish the truth; it would find its way to the ears of the Sovereigns, to whom it was perhaps unknown; it would become known to the people, whose sympathy would be our consolation, and whose indignation would, at least, revenge us upon our cruel persecutors, &c.

We immediately began to search amongst our records. The Emperor portioned them out, pointing out the share which each of us was to take, in

order to transcribe them with greater despatch. The day however passed without any thing being done on the subject. The next day (Friday), as soon as I saw the Emperor, I took the liberty of reminding him of our plans of the preceding day; but he now appeared to think less of the matter, and ended the conversation by saying, "*We must see.*" This day passed like the preceding; I was on thorns. At night, as if to add to my impatience, my servant came again, and renewed the unreserved offer of his services. I told him I should take advantage of them, and that he might act without scruple, as I should not involve him n any criminality or danger. To this he replied, that he did not care about that, and that he would take charge of any thing I might wish to give him, observing only, that he would call for it, without fail, the day after the next (Sunday), which would, in all probability, be the eve of his sailing. The next day (Saturday), as soon as I saw the Emperor, I hastened to communicate to him what I had heard from the servant, dwelling upon the circumstance of our having only twenty-four hours more; but the Emperor, with the utmost indifference, turned the conversation to some other topic, totally foreign to my object. I was struck with surprise. I knew the Emperor's disposition, and I was perfectly satisfied that the indifference, the sort of absence of mind, which he manifested at this moment, could not be the effect

of chance, still less the result of caprice; but what then could his motives be? This idea haunted my mind the whole day, and rendered me melancholy and miserable. At night, the same sentiment which agitated my breast during the day, prevented me from sleeping. I painfully recalled to my mind every circumstance connected with this affair, when suddenly a new light broke in upon me. What do I require of the Emperor, thought I? that he should stoop to the execution of trifling details too much beneath him! No doubt, disgust and secret dissatisfaction have occasioned the silence which has caused my uneasiness. Ought we to be useless to him? Can we not serve him without afflicting him? And then several of his former observations came across my mind. Had I not informed him of the affair; had he not approved of it; what more could I expect?* Henceforth it was for me to act, and I made up my mind in one instant. I resolved to proceed in the business, without mentioning another word to him on the subject: and, in order that it might remain more secret, I determined to keep it entirely to myself.

Some months had now elapsed since I had succeeded in forwarding the celebrated letter, in answer to Sir Hudson Lowe, concerning the Com-

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* Mr. O'Meara's work informs me, after a lapse of six years, that I had precisely guessed the Emperor's feeling on this occasion.

missioners from the Allied Powers, and which was the only document that had been sent to Europe up to that period. The person who had kindly taken charge of it, had brought me a large piece of satin, on part of which the letter had been written. Some was still left; and that was precisely what I wanted. Thus every thing combined to urge me towards the precipice, down which I was about to fall.

As soon as daylight appeared, I gave the remainder of the satin to my son, on whose discretion I could rely; and he spent the whole of the day in tracing upon it my letter to Prince Lucien. Night came, and, faithful to his word, my young mulatto appeared. He had some knowledge of the business of a tailor; he sewed with his own hands the satin into his clothes, and took his leave of me. I promised to give him some other things if he came to see me again before his departure, and wished him a pleasant voyage in case I should not see him again: afterwards I went to bed with a light heart, and a feeling of satisfaction, arising from the contemplation of a day well employed, and marked by a fortunate event. I was far from thinking at that moment, that I had just cut with my own hands the thread of my destiny at Longwood!

Alas! it will soon be seen that twenty-four hours had not elapsed, when, under pretence of my having written that letter, I was removed from Long-

wood, and my person and papers were in the power and at the entire disposal of the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe. And if I should now be asked, how I could be so little on my guard, and not suspect that possibly a snare might be laid for me, I should say, that my servant had appeared to me honest, that I believed him to be faithful, and that I was still a stranger to all idea of instigating spies, a new invention, the honour of which the British Ministers of that period may claim as their own, and which has since thriven so well on the continent!

My Removal from Longwood.—Solitary Confinement at St. Helena (a space of about six Weeks).

25th.—The Emperor sent for me at about four o'clock; he had just finished working, and appeared much pleased with the result of his occupations of the day. "I have been busy with Bertrand "all day on fortifications," said he to me, "and "the day has appeared to me very short." I have already said that this was a newly acquired taste of the Emperor's, quite of the moment; and such pastimes are valuable here, God knows!

I had followed the Emperor to the kind of grass plot which adjoins the tent, from thence we went to the corner of the walk that leads to the bottom of the garden. Five oranges were brought on a plate, with a knife and some sugar. Oranges are very scarce on the island; they are sent from the

Cape. The Emperor is very fond of this fruit. These were a present from Lady Malcolm, and the Admiral never failed to send him some, whenever he had any. We were three of us at this moment with the Emperor; he gave me one of these oranges to put in my pocket for my son, and proceeded to cut the others in slices, and prepare them; and, seated on the trunk of a tree, was eating them cheerfully, and familiarly distributing part of them to us at the same time. By a fatal instinct, I was precisely at that instant contemplating the pleasure of this momentary situation! Alas! I was far from thinking that I was then taking the last present I could receive from his hands! . . .

The Emperor then took some turns in the garden; the wind had become cold: he went into the house again, and bade me follow him alone into the drawing room, and the billiard room, whilst he paced up and down the whole extent of the two rooms. He was talking to me again about the manner in which he had passed his day, and asked me how I had spent mine; then, the conversation having turned on his marriage, he was speaking of the *fêtes* which had taken place on that occasion, and which had ended in the terrible accident that happened at M. Schwartzenberg's ball. I was listening, and inwardly proposing to make an interesting article in my journal on the subject, when the Emperor suddenly interrupted

his conversation, to observe through the window a great number of English officers, who were advancing towards us from the gate of our enclosure: it was the Governor, surrounded by several of his Staff. The Grand Marshal, who at this moment came into the room, observed that the Governor had already been there in the morning; and that he had been at his house, and remained there some time; he added, that a certain movement of the troops was spoken of. These circumstances appeared singular; and—mark the effect of a guilty conscience!—the idea of my letter clandestinely sent, immediately occurred to my mind, and a secret foreboding instantly warned me that all these strange proceedings concerned me. Such, in fact, was the case, for a few minutes after, a message was brought to me, informing me that the English Colonel, the creature of Sir Hudson Lowe, was waiting for me in my own apartment. I made a sign that I was with the Emperor, who, a few minutes afterwards, said to me, "Go, Las Cases, "and see what that animal wants of you." And, as I was going, he added, "*and come back soon.*" These were for me the last words of Napoleon. Alas, I have never seen him since! but his accent, the tone of his voice, still sound in my ears. How often since have I taken delight in allowing my imagination to dwell upon them! and what mingled sensations of pleasure and regret may be produced by a painful recollection

The Colonel who wished to see me was a man entirely devoted to the Governor's wishes, his factotum, and with whom I had frequently to communicate as interpreter. I had no sooner entered the room than, with an expression of benevolence and kindness both in his voice and countenance, he inquired after my health with a tender interest. This was the kiss of Judas; for having made a sign to him with my hand to sit down on the sofa, and having also taken a seat on it myself, he seized this opportunity to place himself between me and the door: and altering at once his tone and expression, he informed me that he arrested me in the name of the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, on the deposition of my servant, who had charged me with having carried on a secret correspondence.

My room was already guarded by dragoons, all representations on my part became useless, I was obliged to yield to violence, and was carried away strongly escorted. The Emperor has since written, as it will be seen hereafter, that on seeing me from his window, hurried along through the plain surrounded by armed men, the alacrity of the numerous staff prancing about me, and the quick undulation of their high feathers floating in the air, had put him in mind of the ferocious joy of the savage inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific ocean, dancing round the prisoner whom they are about to devour.

I had been separated from my son, who had been

detained prisoner in my apartment; but he soon joined me, also under escort: so that the sudden interruption and final termination of our communications with Longwood, date from that moment. We were both shut up in a wretched hovel, near the former habitation of General Bertrand and his family. I was obliged to sleep on a miserable pallet, and to make room for my poor son by my side, lest he should have to lie on the floor; I considered his life to be at this moment in danger, he was threatened with an aneurism, and had been on the point of expiring in my arms a few days before. We were kept until eleven o'clock without food; and when, in order to supply the wants of my son, I went to the door and to each of the windows to ask the men who guarded them for a morsel of bread, they answered me only by presenting their bayonets.

My Papers are visited, &c.

25th, 26th.—What a terrible night is the first night spent in prison, within four walls! What ideas, what reflections, arise in the mind! My last thought at night, and the first on waking in the morning, had been that I was still only a few minutes walk distant from Longwood, and yet that perhaps I was already separated from it by eternity!

In the course of the morning the Grand Marshal, accompanied by an officer, passed within hail of

my hovel. I was enabled to ask him from my dungeon how the Emperor was. The Grand Marshal was going to the Governor's at Plantation House. His visit was undoubtedly on my account, but what could be the object of his mission? What were the ideas and the wishes of the Emperor on the subject? This occupied all my thoughts. On passing again on his return, the Grand Marshal, with an expression of melancholy, made a sign to me, which gave me the idea of bidding me adieu, and which went to my heart. In the course of the morning, General Gourgaud and M. de Montholon also came as far as the late residence of Madame Bertrand, which was opposite to my prison, and not far from it. It was consolatory to me to see and interpret their signs of friendship and tender interest. They in vain solicited to be allowed to come into my prison; they were obliged to return without having succeeded. Shortly after, Madame Bertrand sent me some oranges, informing me at the same time, that she had just received indirectly, some news of my wife, and that she was in good health. These attentions, these demonstrations of kindness, from all my companions, were to me a proof that the first appearance of misfortune is sufficient to awaken the feelings of family affection, and I found some consolation at this moment in being a prisoner.

No time had been lost in my late apartment, after my arrest: a police officer (a recent importa-

tion into the colony, and, I presume, the first attempt of the kind that had been made on British ground) had made his first essay on me. He had searched my secretaire, broken open my drawers, and seized all my papers; and anxious to shew his dexterity and the extent of his abilities, he had immediately set about undoing our beds, and taking my sofa to pieces, and even spoke of taking up the flooring.

The Governor having got possession of all my papers, now proceeded to produce them to me in triumph. He went into the late house of Madame Bertrand, opposite me, followed by eight or ten officers, and sent to ask me whether I would go over there to be present at the inventory which was to be made of them, or whether I preferred that he should come to me. I replied, that since he left me the option, the latter plan would be most agreeable to me. Every body being seated, I rose to protest most positively against the indecorous manner in which I had been taken away from Longwood, against the illegality of sealing up my papers in my absence, and against the violation about to be committed on my private papers, the sacred depositories of my thoughts, which should exist for me only, and which had remained to this day a secret to all the world. I protested against the abuse that might be made of their contents by power; I told Sir Hudson Lowe, that if he thought that the circumstances of the case re-

quired that he should examine them, he must use his own discretion, that I had no fear of the consequences, but that I owed to myself and to general principles, to throw the responsibility of the act entirely upon him, to yield only to violence, and not to authorize it by my consent.

These words, uttered by me in presence of all his officers, irritated the Governor, who exclaimed, "Count Las Cases, do not render your situation "worse than it is; it is bad enough already!" alluding probably to the punishment of death, which he often reminded us of our being liable to, if we assisted in endeavouring to effect the escape of the great Captive. He concluded, no doubt, that my papers would produce the most important discoveries: God knows how far his ideas might go on that subject.

Before Sir Hudson began to read my papers, he called General Bingham, the second in command in the island, to assist personally in their perusal; but that officer's ideas of delicacy differed entirely from those of the Governor. "Sir Hudson Lowe," answered he, with a marked expression of disgust, "I beg you will excuse me, I do not think that I "shall be able to read that kind of French hand-"writing."

I had, in fact, no real objection to the Governor's examining my papers; and I therefore told him that, not in his capacity of judge or magistrate, for he was neither the one nor the other to me, but

of my own accord and out of pure condescension, I thought proper to allow him to read them. He fell immediately upon my journal. His joy and his expectations may be imagined, when he perceived that it would inform him, day by day, of all that happened amongst us at Longwood. It was sufficiently in order to have a table of contents, or index to the chapters at the beginning of each month. Sir Hudson Lowe, on meeting frequently with his name, would immediately refer to the page pointed out in the index to read the details; and I could not help observing to him, that if he found it often necessary to use forbearance, it was not my fault, but the fault of his own indiscretion. I assured him that my journal was not known to any body; that the Emperor himself, who was the sole subject of it, had only read the first pages of it; that its contexture was far from being settled, and that it was intended to remain, for some time to come, a secret known to me only.

After Sir Hudson Lowe had spent two or three hours in looking over my journal, I told him that my intention had been to enable him to form a correct idea of the nature of its contents, and that having now done so, I felt bound, for many reasons, to prohibit, as far as it was in my power, his going any further; that he *could* of course do as he pleased, but that I should protest against the violence he would thus exercise, and the abuse of his authority. I could easily perceive that this

was a great disappointment to him, he even hesitated: however, my protest produced its effect, and my journal was not touched again. I might have extended the protest to all my other papers, but I did not care much about them; and they were, during several days, most minutely examined.

I had my last will sealed up: I was obliged to open it as well as other papers equally sacred. Having got to the bottom of a portfolio containing some things which I had not ventured to look at since my absence from Europe, I was obliged to open them. This day was to be a day of emotion to me: the sight of these objects awoke in my breast some old recollections which my courage had stifled, since certain painful separations had taken place. I was affected, and obliged to hasten out of the room. My son, who remained in it, told me afterwards, that the Governor himself had appeared somewhat affected by this circumstance.

My Removal to Balcombe's Cottage.

From 28th to 30th. This day, 28th, we have been removed from our wretched hovel to a kind of cottage belonging to Mr. Balcombe, our former host when at Briars, and situated about a league distant. The house was small, but very tolerable, and situated opposite Longwood, and at a short distance from it: we were only separated from it

by several ridges of precipices and steep summits of mountains. We were guarded by a detachment of the sixty-sixth regiment; numerous sentinels watched over us, and defended the approach to our prison. An officer was at our disposal, Sir Hudson Lowe obligingly said, and, as he affirmed, for our convenience. All communications were strictly intercepted, we were placed in a state of the most absolute seclusion. On the summit of the hills which surrounded the hollow in which our house was situated, there was a road on which we saw to-day General Gourgaud, accompanied by an English officer. We could observe his efforts to come as near to us as possible, and we received with feelings of joy and affection, the signs and demonstrations of friendship which our companion addressed to us from that distance, and returned ours to him in the same manner. The kind and excellent Madame Bertrand sent us again some oranges: we were not allowed to write to her to thank her, and were obliged to confine the expression of our gratitude to sending her some roses which we had gathered in our prison.

The next day Sir Hudson Lowe came to see us in our new residence. He wished to know what kind of bed I had had, and I took him to the next room and shewed him a mattress on the floor. The same kind of attention had been bestowed upon our food. "I mention these things to you," said I, "because you have asked me; but for my part

"I do not care about them." He then grew very angry with the person to whom he had intrusted the superintendence of our establishment here, and sent us our meals from his own table at Plantation House, although a distance of two leagues, and continued so to do until our wants were regularly provided for.

It became necessary to devise some occupation in our new prison, to enable us to bear the weight of time. I divided our hours so as to fill up our days: I regularly gave lessons of history and mathematics to my son; we read, and during our intervals of leisure we walked about our enclosure. The place was agreeable enough for St. Helena, it offered some verdure and a few trees. A great number of fowls, which were being reared for the consumption of Longwood, were kept there, as well as some *pintados*, and other large birds, which we soon rendered tame: prisoners are ingenious and compassionate. In the evening we used to light a fire, and then I related to my son some family stories; I informed him of my family concerns, and mentioned to him, and made him take down the names of those persons who had shewn themselves kind to me during the course of my life, or had rendered me some service. In short, our life was dull and melancholy, but so calm that it was not devoid of a kind of pleasurable feeling. One idea alone was exceedingly painful, and haunted us continually: the Emperor was there

almost within sight, and yet we inhabited two distinct worlds; we were only separated by a short distance, and yet all communication had ceased! There was something horrible in this situation; I was no longer with him, and I was not with my family, which I had left to follow him. What then remained to me? My son shared in these feelings: urged by this situation, and by the enthusiasm of youth, the dear boy offered to me, in a moment of exultation, to take advantage of the darkness of night, to elude the vigilance of our guards, descend into the numerous precipices, and scale the steep and numerous heights which separated us from Longwood, see Napoleon, and bring me back some news from him, which he engaged to do before day-light. I calmed this zeal, which, even had it made the attempt practicable, would have produced no other result than to afford a feeling of personal satisfaction, and might have occasioned the most serious consequences. The Emperor had conversed with me so often, and so fully, that I did not suppose there was any thing he might wish to inform me of; and if the attempt made by my son had been discovered, what a noise it would have made, what importance would have been attached to it by the Governor, what absurd stories he would have imagined and produced! &c.

I take a resolution.—My Letters to Sir Hudson Lowe, &c.

From Sunday December 1st, to Friday December 6th.—The days of our imprisonment were slowly succeeding each other, and the Governor, although he continued to visit us frequently, did not mention any thing concerning our situation; he had merely hinted to me that my residence in the Island and my confinement might be protracted, until instructions were returned from London. Eight days had nearly elapsed without producing the least approach towards any result whatever. This state of inactivity and passiveness could not agree with the nature of my disposition. The health of my son was at times most alarming. Deprived of all communication with Longwood, I was left alone to meditate by myself. I reflected upon the situation in which I was thus placed, fixed upon a plan, and took a resolution. I chose it, extreme in its nature, thinking that if it was approved by the Emperor, it might prove useful, and that it would be very easy to retrace my steps if he wished it. I therefore wrote to the Governor the following letter:

"Sir,—In consequence of a snare laid by my "servant, I was on the 25th ultimo torn from Long- "wood, and all my papers were seized, for having "infringed your restrictions, to which I had pre- "viously submitted. Had you trusted the obser- "vance of these restrictions to my word or to

" my delicacy, I should have considered them as
" sacred; but you chose to guard them by at-
" taching penalties to their violation, and I chose
" to run the risk of encountering them. You
" have applied those penalties at your own dis-
" cretion, and I have made no objection to it. All
" this, as far as it goes, is perfectly regular; but
" the measure of punishment should not exceed
" the measure of the offence. What is now the
" case? Two letters have been delivered for trans-
" mission without your knowledge: one of them
" contains the relation of the events that have
" occurred to us, written for Prince Lucien, and
" which would have passed through your hands, if
" you had not informed me that the continuation
" of my correspondence, and the style of my let-
" ters would cause my removal by you from the
" person of the Emperor. The other letter was
" merely a letter of friendship. However this cir-
" cumstance has placed all my papers at your dis-
" posal, you have seen them all, even to the most
" secret. I have myself so much facilitated your
" researches, that I have consented to allow you to
" peruse, solely upon your word, that which was
" known only to myself, which is as yet a mass of
" undigested ideas, undetermined, and liable at
" every moment to be corrected, or modified; in
" a word, the secret, the chaos of my thoughts. In
" so doing I have wished to convince you, and I ap-
" peal to your candour, when I say that I hope I have

" convinced you, that in the multitude of papers " which you have hastily looked over, there is " nothing that could be considered as tending to " interfere with the high and important part of your " functions: no plot, no plan, not even a thought " relating to Napoleon's escape. You could not " find any, because none existed. We are of " opinion that his escape is impossible, and we do " not think of it. Yet I will not deny that I should " willingly have attempted to effect it, had I seen " the possibility of success. I should willingly " have sacrificed my life to restore him to liberty. " I should have fallen a martyr to my zeal, and my " memory would have lived for ever in all noble " and generous hearts. But I repeat it, nobody " considers the attempt practicable; and nobody " thinks of making it. The Emperor Napoleon's " plans and wishes are still those he formed when " he repaired *willingly and in good faith* on board " the Bellerophon, that is, to go and seek for a life " of tranquillity in America, or even in England, " under the protection of the laws.

" These points settled, I protest with all my " might, against your reading henceforward, I " might say all my private papers, but I confine " myself to what I call *my Journal*. I owe it to " the great respect which I entertain for the august " personage, whose name fills its pages, I owe " it to the respect due to myself, to state my " solemn objection to your so doing. I there-

" fore demand either that those papers may be
" immediately restored to me, if you think con-
" scientiously that their contents are foreign to
" the grand object of your administration; or, if
" from what you have read of them, you consider
" that certain parts should be laid before the Bri-
" tish Ministers, I demand that you will forward
" them all to England, and send me with them.
" You, Sir, are so often alluded to in those pa-
" pers, that delicacy imperiously commands you
" to adopt one of those two alternatives. You
" cannot possibly endeavour to avail yourself,
" more than I have allowed you, of this oppor-
" tunity to read in them what concerns you per-
" sonally, lest you expose yourself to the conclu-
" sions that will be drawn by induction from this
" abuse of your authority, lest the circumstance
" be thought connected with the trap laid for me,
" and with the great stir that has been made about
" such a trifle. As soon as I shall have arrived
" in England with these papers, I shall ask the
" Ministers in their turn, and I shall appeal to the
" whole world, whether any importance can be
" attached in the eyes of the law, to a document
" recording day by day, with all the negligence
" warranted by strict privacy, the conversation,
" the words, and perhaps even the gestures of the
" Emperor Napoleon? I shall ask them par-
" ticularly, whether I have not a right to demand
" of them the most inviolable secrecy concerning

" every part of a Journal, which is only the rough
" draught of my thoughts, which properly speaking
" does not exist, which contains only materials
" yet undigested; which I might without scruple
" disavow in almost every particular, as being as
" yet far from being settled in my own mind, and
" in which it happened to me every day, to have
" to correct by the tenor of a new conversation the
" errors of a former one, errors that must be un-
" avoidable and of frequent occurrence, both with
" respect to the man who speaks without knowing
" that he is observed, and to the man who collects
" without considering himself bound to warrant
" the authenticity of his information. As for what
" concerns you, Sir, in those pages, if you have
" frequently had occasion to complain of the
" opinions I have pronounced, or the facts I have
" stated, it is very easy to point out between man
" and man, the errors into which I may have fallen.
" You cannot possibly afford me a greater pleasure
" than by giving me an opportunity of being just;
" and whatever be the opinion in which I persist,
" after your explanation, you will at least be
" obliged to acknowledge my candour and sin-
" cerity. Be that as it may, Sir, and whatever be
" your intentions with respect to me, I from this
" moment withdraw, in as far as my present posi-
" tion will admit, from the state of voluntary sub-
" jection in which I had placed myself towards
" you. When I entered into that engagement,

" you told me that I remained at liberty to retract
" it at any time; and I therefore from the present
" moment desire to be restored to the common
" class of citizens. I place myself once more
" under the operation of your civil laws, I appeal
" to your tribunals, not to implore their favour,
" but their justice and their judgment. I presume,
" General, that you have too much respect for the
" laws, and too much innate justice in your heart,
" to make it necessary for me so far to insult you,
" as to observe that you would become responsible
" for all violations of the law, that may be exercised
" against me directly or indirectly. I do not sup-
" pose that the *letter* of your instructions, which
" might induce you to detain me a prisoner here
" or at the Cape during several months, could
" shelter you from the *spirit* of those same instruc-
" tions, appealed to by the power, the superiority,
" the majesty of the laws.

" Those instructions, if I have rightly understood
" them, in ordering you to detain every person
" having belonged to the establishment at Long-
" wood, during a certain time before you restore
" them to liberty, have only for their object, no
" doubt, to derange the communications that
" might have been held with that horrible prison,
" and to let some time elapse after their cessation.
" Now the manner in which I have been torn away,
" has been sufficient to attain that end. It was
" impossible for me to bring away any idea of

" the moment. I was as it were struck with sud-
" den death. Besides, if I am sent to England
" under accusation, and submitted to the opera-
" tion of the laws, they will, if I am found guilty,
" sufficiently obviate the inconvenience which it
" has been sought to avoid. If I am not guilty,
" I shall still be exposed to the provisions of the
" Alien bill; or if that is not enough, I here give
" beforehand my voluntary assent to all precau-
" tions, however arbitrary they may be, which it
" may be thought proper to adopt against me on
" this occasion.

" Without yet knowing, Sir, what your inten-
" tions may be with respect to the disposal of my
" person, I have already imposed upon myself the
" greatest of all sacrifices. I am still very near to
" Longwood, and perhaps, I am already separated
" from it by eternity;—horrible thought, that har-
" rows up my soul, and will continue to haunt my
" imagination! . . . But a few days ago, and you
" would have brought me to submit to the greatest
" sacrifices, by the fear of being removed from the
" Emperor's person; to-day, it is not in your
" power to restore me to him. A stain has been
" affixed upon me, by arresting me almost within
" his sight. I can no longer be a source of conso-
" lation to him; he would only see in me a being
" dishonoured, suggesting painful recollections.
" And yet his presence, the attentions which I de-
" lighted to pay him, are dearer to me than my

"life! But perhaps, some pity will be shewn to "me from afar! Something tells me, that I shall "return; but by a purified channel, bringing with "me all that is dear to my existence, to assist me "in surrounding with pious and tender cares, the "immortal monument placed at the extremity of "the universe, and slowly consumed by the in- "clemency of the air, and the perfidy and cruelty "of mankind. You have spoken to me, Sir, of "your own afflictions; we do not suspect, you have "said, all the tribulations with which you are as- "sailed; but every one knows and feels his own "misery only. You do not suspect, on your side, "Sir, that you keep Longwood covered with the "veil of mourning. I have the honour," &c.

A correspondence being once established with Sir Hudson Lowe, I did not remain idle. The following day I wrote to him again, to tell him, that in consequence of my letter of the day before, I now officially, and in due form, demanded my removal from St. Helena, and my return to Europe. The next day after that, I took up the same subject, and treated it with reference to my situation, as affecting my domestic concerns.

"In my two preceding letters," said I to him, "both relating to my political situation, I had "thought it improper and unbecoming to intro- "duce a single word touching my private affairs; "but now that I consider myself as belonging "once more to the mass of common citizens, I do

" not hesitate, as an accidental inhabitant of your
" island, to represent to you all the horrors of my
" private situation. You are aware of the danger-
" ous state of my son's health: it must have been
" reported to you by the medical men. Ever since
" he has seen the dear and sacred tie which bound
" us to Longwood dissolved, all his ideas, all his
" wishes, all his hopes, are ardently turned towards
" Europe, and his disease will be increased, by
" impatience and the power of imagination. Such
" is *his* physical situation, which renders *my* moral
" situation still worse if possible. I have to con-
" tend at the same time against the feelings of my
" heart, and the uneasiness of my mind. I can-
" not contemplate without a feeling of terror, that
" I am responsible to myself for having brought
" him here, and for being the cause of his being
" detained here. What should I answer to his
" mother, who would ask me for her son? What
" should I reply to the multitude of idlers and
" others, who though indifferent to the circum-
" stances, are ever ready to judge and condemn?
" I say nothing of my own health, it is of little
" importance in the midst of such emotions, and
" such causes of anxiety. And yet, I find myself
" in a most deplorable state; for since I have no
" longer before my eyes the cause which kept the
" faculties of my mind in action, my body sinks
" under the dreadful havoc produced by eighteen
" months of struggles, agitations, and afflictions,

" such as the imagination can hardly dwell upon. " I am no longer near the august person for " whom I cheerfully endured them, and I am " nevertheless also separated from my family, " whose absence has caused me so much sorrow. " Deprived of both objects, my heart is torn be- " tween them, it wanders in an abyss, it can no " longer endure it. I leave you, Sir, to weigh " these considerations. Do not sacrifice two vic- " tims. I request you will send us to England, " to the source of science and of every kind of " assistance. This is the first demand of any kind, " that I have made either of yourself or your pre- " decessor. But the deplorable state of my son's " health overpowers my stoicism; will it not awake " your humanity? Several motives may tend to " influence your decision: they are all contained " in my letter of 30th November. I shall merely " add here, that an opportunity now offers for you " to give a great and rare example of impartiality, " in sending thus to your Ministers one of your " adversaries."

After having received these two letters, Sir Hudson Lowe called upon me, and with reference to the first, he immediately denied having laid any trap for me through the medium of his servant. He however admitted, that appearances warranted my suspicions. And how could I avoid forming them? said I to him; this servant had been several times summoned before the authorities of the

island, after he had been taken from me; since that, he had good naturedly come to offer his services for Europe, and had assured me, that he would find means to come secretly to me to take my orders; and he had actually come several times, notwithstanding the very severe measures of precaution exercised against us. Be that as it may, Sir Hudson Lowe gave me his word of honour on the subject, and I was obliged to believe him.

Sir Hudson Lowe, afterwards, went on to discuss verbally some passages of my letters, dwelling particularly upon certain expressions, which, he represented to me in a friendly manner, could not but be unpleasant to him. He found me not only on this, but on several other occasions of the same nature, perfectly accommodating. My answer to his observations, was generally to take up the pen immediately, and erase or modify the expressions that displeased him.

I omit a pretty voluminous correspondence upon the same subject; I shall merely state, that in general, Sir Hudson Lowe avoided giving a written answer, and that his custom was to come, as it has just been seen, to converse with me respecting the letters he had just received, and obtain some erasures, after which he retired, saying, that he would soon give an ample answer: but this he did not do at the time, and has never done since; but, as I have been informed from England, he now pays periodical papers, or occasional libellers,

to abuse the *Memorial de Sainte-Hélène*, and revile its author.

As, in the numerous verbal discussions to which my letters gave rise, Sir Hudson Lowe did not, with the exception of the erasure of a few expressions, obtain any important concession, or attain any of the objects he had in view; he would, on leaving me, represent me as a man of deep cunning, and, as he affirmed, very much to be feared: for with him a man was very cunning, very crafty, and very dangerous, who had sense enough not to yield blindly to all his views, or fall into his snares. However, the following is the only trick I ever played him. The idleness and rigour of captivity sharpen the invention; besides, it was all fair between us: the incontestable right of a prisoner, is to endeavour to deceive his gaoler.

I said at the beginning of this work, that the Emperor at the moment of our departure for St. Helena, had secretly intrusted me with a necklace of diamonds of very considerable value.

The habit of wearing it about me for such a length of time, had brought me to think no more about it, so that it was only after several days of seclusion, and quite by chance, that I thought of it. Closely watched as I was, I could not see any possibility of being able to restore it to the Emperor, who had no doubt forgotten it as well as myself. After having thought a great deal on the subject, I contrived to make use of Sir Hudson Lowe him-

self for that purpose. I requested to be allowed to bid my companions farewell, and wrote the following letter to the Grand Marshal :—

" Sir,—Torn from the midst of you all, left to " myself, deprived of all communication whatever, " I have been obliged to found my decisions on my " own judgment, and my own feelings. I have ad- " dressed them officially to Sir Hudson Lowe, " on the 30th of November. In return for the " liberty which I am allowed, I abstain from say- " ing a single word about it, and rely upon the " delicacy of the high authorities to communicate " to you the whole of my letter, if any part of it " should ever be mentioned or alluded to—I re- " sign myself to my fate.

" It only remains for me to request you will " lay at the Emperor's feet, the assurance of my " respect, veneration, and affection: my life is " still entirely devoted to him. I shall never enjoy " any happiness but near his august person.

" In the unfortunate state of penury to which " you are all reduced, I should have most ardently " wished to leave behind me some of my wife's " diamonds . . . . a necklace . . . . the widow's " mite! But how shall I venture to offer it? . . . . " I have often made the offer of the four thousand " louis which I possess in England at my disposal, " that offer I now again renew; my position what- " ever it be, cannot produce any alteration in my " intention. I shall henceforward be proud to be

" in want! Once more, Sir, assure the Emperor " of my entire devotion to his person, of my fide- " lity, and unshaken constancy. . . .

" And you, my dear companions of Longwood, " let me ever live in your recollection! I know " the privations and afflictions to which you are " exposed; and my heart bleeds for you. With " you I was of little importance; far from you, you " shall know my zeal and my tender solicitude, if " they have humanity enough to allow me to exer- " cise them. I embrace you all very affectionately, " and request you will add for yourself, Sir, the " assurance of my respect and consideration.

" P. S. This letter has been ready for you some " time; it was written at the time I thought I " was going to be removed hence. To-day the " Governor, in giving me permission to send it to " you, informs me that I am to wait here, until " answers shall have arrived from England. Thus " I shall be for months together at St. Helena, and " Longwood will not exist for me; a new species " of torment which I had not thought of!"

Sir Hudson Lowe, to whom I delivered this letter open, for such was his condition, read it, approved it, and was kind enough to undertake to deliver it himself, a circumstance which had the effect of exciting the Emperor's attention, and which contributed, in a great measure, though indirectly, to cause the deposit to be restored to Napoleon.

My personal Subjects of Complaint against Sir Hudson Lowe.—Characteristic Features.

7th to 9th.—The other day I invited the officer on duty to dine with me. In the course of conversation he told me that he had been a prisoner at Verdun for a long time; but had at last obtained permission to be removed to Paris. Observe the caprice of chance; when he named the person at Paris through whose medium he had applied, it turned out that it was precisely myself who had asked of the Duke de Feltre, that favour which at that time was most difficult to be obtained.

Our situation here still offers the same uniformity; no appearance of our approaching towards any result whatever; it is now almost a fortnight since the unfortunate event took place, and we are still in the same state of seclusion, exposed to the same restrictions, the same torments!

We seldom received any news of the Emperor, and then only through the Governor himself. Our prison was situated, as I have said before, precisely opposite to, and at no great distance from Longwood, from which we were only separated by precipices. Whenever we raised our eyes, we saw before us that object of our thoughts and wishes, and we were for ever turning them towards it. We could follow the daily avocations of its inhabitants, which were so familiar to us; we could see every house belonging to it, but we could not possibly

distinguish any living object. This constant attraction constantly opposed, this proximity and at the same time this great distance, this object of our wishes for ever present, and, as it were, for ever withdrawn from us, all this together formed something like the hell of the ancients. Sir Hudson Lowe admitted the justice of this observation, and had immediately promised on the first day of our confinement, that he would soon remove us from this spot. He said we were only there temporarily, and until some other more convenient place which was already in preparation, was ready for us. But weeks had elapsed and no removal took place. Sir Hudson Lowe, who is extremely prompt in adopting a noxious measure, is extremely slow in repealing it; if indeed he ever does repeal it, and which was not the case in the present instance. Yet, I must confess, that this Governor, since he has had me in his power, has behaved towards me with the utmost politeness, and the most marked attention. I have seen him go himself, and remove a sentry, which might, he said, have offended my sight, to place him behind some trees, in order that I might no longer see him. All his views, his real intentions, he assured me, were of the most benevolent kind, and his language was of a nature to convince me of the truth of this assertion; so much so that I have been more than once inclined to doubt the justice of the opinion we had hitherto formed of him. But in the end I have always been

obliged to remain satisfied that Sir Hudson Lowe's actions differed strangely from his words: that he spoke in one way and acted in another. I have read, for instance, in Mr. O'Meara's work, that precisely at this very time, when I thought myself so high in his favour, when I was in some degree reproaching myself with the kind of aversion I entertained for him, he was conveying to Napoleon through the medium of the Doctor, confessions invented by himself, which he declared he had elicited from me by word of mouth, or had under my own hand; actuated no doubt by the hopes of obtaining, in return, from Longwood, some information which he might turn to account. Amongst other things, he said that I had confessed to him that he had not given us any just cause of complaint, but that we had agreed amongst ourselves, to misrepresent every thing to the Emperor, in order to keep him in a state of exasperation. What unworthy means! What base resources! . . . I might add much more; but every thing must give way before the following *trait*, which will supersede the necessity of any further instances. My son continued to be extremely ill; the palpitations he experienced were sometimes so violent, that he would suddenly throw himself off his bed to pace the room with rapid strides, or come and fall into my arms, where he seemed in danger of expiring. Dr. Baxter, senior medical officer of the island, and an inmate of Government house,

came, with a degree of politeness of which I preserve the recollection with a sincere feeling of gratitude, to add his cares to those of Mr. O'Meara. They both represented to Sir Hudson Lowe the critical state of my son, and warmly supported my request that he might be sent to Europe. Dr. O'Meara having after a fresh crisis renewed the subject alone, Sir Hudson Lowe put an end to his importunities by the following words, which Mr. O'Meara has since repeated to my son and to myself: "*Well, Sir! after all, what matters the "death of a child, in a case of politics?*" . . . I abstain from all comments; I hand over the naked phrase to every paternal heart, and to all mothers!

The famous Clandestine Document.—My Interrogatory by Sir Hudson Lowe.

10th to 15th.—The Governor, in his frequent visits, which he almost daily repeated, would often, for some motive or another, renew his search amongst my various papers. I always assented with the greatest readiness; in so doing, I had at heart to prove to him my complaisance and moderation, and for this I certainly obtained some flattering words, but never the smallest act of accommodation. As he was rummaging these parcels on one occasion, two bundles were left by accident on the outside of the trunk which contained them. I felt a malicious pleasure in returning them to him the next morning. He was much astonished; one

would have thought that he would have left them with me; but he locked them up very carefully, and this he said for the sake of strict regularity, although I assured him it was unnecessary, and observed to him, laughing, that he might well suppose that if it had been of consequence to withdraw any of those papers, he would not have found them in the bundles. I had already had occasion on the first day to point out to him that they had forgotten to seal up my portfolio when it was seized at Longwood: he admitted there had been great irregularity in this respect, and expressed that he duly appreciated the circumstance of my mentioning the fact merely in the way of a simple observation; I had indeed no other object than to shew him very clearly how incapable I was of taking advantage of every occasion he offered me to quarrel with him; but I repeat it, these acts of civility on my part never procured me in return any thing from him beyond a few words, not a single act of kindness.

A register was made of all letters from my London friends, in order to ascertain in the public offices whether any had arrived by indirect modes of conveyance. I had commenced a second letter to Prince Lucien; the Governor laid particular stress upon it. It was in vain I represented to him that it was full of erasures, and crowded with pencil notes almost effaced; that it had not been written, and did not therefore exist in reality; that

I might disown it without scruple; that it was impossible to make any *legal or honest* use of it: he persisted in having some parts of the letter recopied; God knows for what purpose!

He was much puzzled by a note of the Lieutenant-Governor's lady. On quitting St. Helena for England, she had told us that the law forbade her taking charge of any letter; but that she would have great pleasure in being useful to us in any other way. I had sent to her, for my London friends, some objects which had been used by the Emperor, or had come from himself. A small silver inkstand, I believe, some words in his handwriting, perhaps some of his hair; I know not what. These I called precious relics. Mrs. Skelton had replied that she would treat them with all the respect they deserved, but that she must confess to me she had not been able to resist the temptation of taking a small portion of them.

Sir Hudson Lowe could not account for my being either unable or unwilling to state what those precious objects were. I should be mortified if they should have brought any disagreeable consequences on this lady. I had merely kept the note in memory, and in token of respect for her. Mr. and Mrs. Skelton were a moral and virtuous couple, whom we had much injured, though undoubtedly against our wish; but their politeness and attention to us had constantly increased with the harm we did them. Our arrival in the island

had caused their being dispossessed of Longwood, losing their situation, and being sent back to Europe, where they must be without any fortune.

At last, after a time, the famous clandestine documents came out in their turn: my letter to Prince Lucien, and the one to my London acquaintance. Sir Hudson Lowe had caused them to be carefully recopied, but with many chasms, from not having been able to read all, certain words being found effaced upon the satin, owing to the documents having been accidently wetted since I had parted with them. I carried my complaisance and good nature so far as to restore them; and then a sort of interrogatory commenced.

The Governor's attention was much engaged by two points which he had quite at heart to clear up, if, he said, I had no objection to it. The first question was relative to these words of my letter to Prince Lucien: "Those who surround us complain bitterly that their letters are falsified in the public papers," &c. It was asked of me who these persons were. The Aide-de-camp held his pen to take down my answers. I desired he would write, that seeing no inconvenience in answering, I would do so, but entirely of my own accord; for that if the Governor thought to question, by virtue of his authority, I should be silent; and I then said, "that those words of my letter were vague, gene-
"ral, and without any application whatever; that
"they were what had been said to us by every

" one, when they sought to console us for the " very improper expressions or descriptions re- " garding us, which we occasionally found in the " London papers, under the date of St. Helena; " that I just recollected a particular instance of " this, in a lady belonging to the camp, and known " to him, who declared openly that she had not " written the ridiculous letter which had appeared " under her name, and that either her friends in " England had made alterations in that letter, or it " had been read in company, imperfectly retained, " and incorrectly sent to the press."

The Governor's second question applied to my private letter. It contained, amongst others, a request to ask Lord Holland whether he had received the parcels I had directed to him. Sir Hudson Lowe inquired what those parcels were, and by whom I had forwarded them, &c.; and here he visibly redoubled the mildness of his deportment, in order to obtain a satisfactory answer, confessing that he had no right to compel me to reply; but it would be, he said, the means of materially expediting and simplifying my own affairs, &c. &c. I replied rather in a solemn manner, that this point was my *secret*, which evidently created an impression upon the physiognomy of Sir Hudson Lowe; and my words being taken down as I uttered them, I continued to dictate, adding that the answer I had just given, was only that which my education and habits prompted me to

give, that any other might have given rise to the Governor's doubts, and that it was not proper I should expose the veracity of my words to the smallest suspicion; that after this preliminary statement however, I had no longer any objection to declare that I never, in all my life, had any communication with Lord Holland. This unexpected conclusion was a *coup de théâtre*, quite a comedy-scene; it were difficult to describe the surprise of the Governor, the astonishment of the officers; the pen stopped in the writer's hand. Sir Hudson Lowe did not hesitate to reply that he fully believed me, but that he must confess he could not understand the business at all. I confessed in my turn, that I could not help laughing at the perplexity I caused him, but that I had told him all. The fact is, I had intended, when my servant should return, to intrust him besides with several authentic documents upon our situation, for Lord Holland: but I had not been allowed time for so doing; they had too soon come to take me away. I had the honour of knowing his Lordship only by the nobleness and dignity of his public conduct; but to transmit the truth to him, as an hereditary legislator of his country, and a member of the supreme court of Great Britain, appeared to me very proper in us both, and equally becoming and serviceable to the honour of the British character.

My Anxieties.—A Letter from the Emperor, a real Blessing.

16th.—More than twenty days had elapsed, and nothing as yet announced any change in our dreadful situation. My son's illness continued to shew the most alarming symptoms; my health was visibly wearing away through grief and anxiety. Our confinement was so strict, that we had not yet learnt a single word from Longwood; I was quite ignorant how my unfortunate affair had been interpreted there; I had merely learnt that the Emperor had not left his apartment during the last fifteen or eighteen days, and had almost always taken his meals there alone. What did I not suffer from these circumstances! The Emperor had evidently been affected, but in what manner? Shall I own it, this doubt was, to me, a source of absolute torment; it haunted me at every moment since I had quitted Longwood; for the Emperor was perfectly ignorant of the cause of my being carried off; fate had so ordained it. What would he have thought, on hearing about my clandestine letters? What would have been his opinions, what motive would he assign to my disguise towards him; I, who from habit, would not have stirred a step, or hazarded an expression, without communicating with him? I coupled these faults, which I even exaggerated, with the affecting kindness of the last moments I had passed with him. Some mi-

nutes before I was torn away from him, he was more cheerful towards me, seemed even better disposed than usual; and some moments later, he had perhaps been led to find something mysterious in my conduct. The appearance of the right of reproach and of doubt, had perhaps already risen in his mind. This idea grieved me more than I could express, and visibly affected my health. Fortunately, the Governor came to restore me to life. He presented himself towards evening, appearing much taken up with what he had to tell me, and after a long preamble, which it was difficult for me to understand, he concluded by informing me, that he held in his hand a letter, which my situation gave him the right to withhold from me; but that he knew how dear to me was the hand that wrote it, how much I valued the sentiments which it expressed, and that he was, therefore, going to shew it to me, notwithstanding the many personal motives he might have for not doing so! It was a letter from the Emperor!

Whatever harm Sir Hudson Lowe may have done to us, whatever his motives may have been, at this moment, I owe him a real obligation for the happiness he afforded me; and when I recollect it, I am tempted to reproach myself for many details and certain imputations; but I owed them to truth, and to considerations of the highest importance. I shewed myself so much affected, that he appeared to be moved by it, and consented to

my request of being allowed to take a copy of what was strictly personal in the letter. My son copied it in a hurry, so much we dreaded lest he should alter his mind; and when he left us, we re-copied it in many ways and in many places; we even learnt it by heart, so great was our fear that the night's reflections might occasion Sir Hudson Lowe to repent. And, in fact, when he reappeared the next morning, he expressed to me his regret on the subject; and I did not hesitate to offer to return to him the copy I had taken, assuring him that I should not feel the less grateful. We had ensured to ourselves the means of being generous without inconvenience. Whether he suspected that such was the case, or whether from a continuation of the same kindness, I know not; but he did not accept my offer. I shall now lay before the reader that letter, the original of which was kept by Sir Hudson Lowe, which he gave me his word should share the same fate as my other papers, and which I nevertheless, had all possible trouble to obtain, when the English Government, after Napoleon's death, thought they could not avoid restoring my Journal to me. I shall transcribe here those passages of the letter which Sir Hudson Lowe allowed me to copy at the time, and such as they were published after my return to Europe; those parts which he kept back are thrown into the notes, at the bottom of the pages: the two together will form the whole of the original.

"My dear Count de Las Cases,—My heart is deeply affected by what you now experience. Torn from me a fortnight ago, you have been ever since closely confined, without the possibility of my receiving any news from you, or sending you any; without having had any communication with any person, either French or English; deprived even of the attendance of a servant of your own choice.

"Your conduct at St. Helena has been, like the whole of your life, honourable and irreproachable; I have pleasure in giving you this testimony.

"Your letter to one of your friends in London contains nothing reprehensible; you merely unburden your heart in the bosom of friendship.

[*Half the letter was wanting here.**]

"Your company was necessary to me. You are the only one that can read, speak, and understand English. How many nights you have watched over me during my illnesses! However, I ad-

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* "This letter is similar to eight or ten others, which you have written to the same person, and which you have sent unsealed. The Governor having had the indelicacy to pry into the expressions which you confide to friendship, has latterly reproached you with them, threatening to send you out of the island, if your letters continued to be the bearers of complaints against him. He has thus violated the first duty of his situation, the first article of his instructions, the first sentiment of honour; he has thus authorized you to seek for means to open your heart to your friends, and inform them of the guilty conduct of this

vise you, and if necessary, I order you, to demand of the Governor of this country to send you to the Continent; he cannot refuse, since he has no power

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Governor. But you have been very simple; your confidence has been easily beguiled!

"A pretext was wanting to seize upon your papers; but your letter to your friend in London, could not authorize a visit from the police to you; since it contained no plot, no mystery; since it was only the expression of a heart noble and sincere. The illegal and precipitate conduct observed on this occasion, bears the stamp of a base feeling of personal animosity.

"In countries the least civilized, exiles, prisoners, and even criminals, are under the protection of the laws and of the magistrates; those persons who are intrusted with the keeping of them, have superior officers in the administration, who watch over them. On this rock, the man who makes the most absurd regulations, executes them with violence, and transgresses all laws; there is nobody to check the outrages of his passions.

"The Prince Regent can never be informed of the acts carried on under his name; they have refused to forward my letters to him, they have, in a violent manner, sent back the complaints made by Count Montholon; and Count Bertrand has since been informed, that no letters would be received if they continued to be libellous as they had hitherto been.

"Longwood is surrounded by a mystery which it is sought to render impenetrable, in order to conceal a guilty line of conduct which is calculated to create a suspicion of the most criminal intentions!!!

"By reports insidiously circulated, it is endeavoured to deceive the officers, the travellers, the inhabitants, of this island, and even the agents which, it is said, Austria and Russia have sent here. No doubt the English Government is deceived, in like manner, by artful and false representations.

"They have seized your papers, amongst which, they know

over you, but by virtue of the act which you have voluntarily signed. It will be a great source of consolation to me, to know that you are on your way to more favoured climes.

" Once in Europe, whether you proceed to England or return home, endeavour to forget the evils which you have been made to suffer; and boast of the fidelity which you have shewn towards me, and of all the affection I feel for you.

" If you should, some day or other, see my wife and son, embrace them for me; for the last two years, I have had no news from them, either directly or indirectly.

[*Three or four lines were wanting here.**]

" In the mean time be comforted, and console my friends. My body, it is true, is exposed to the hatred of my enemies; they omit nothing that can contribute to satisfy their vengeance; they

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there were some belonging to me, without the least formality, in the room next to mine, with a ferocious *eclat* and manifestation of joy. I was informed of it a few moments afterwards, and looked from the window, when I saw that they were hurrying you away. A numerous staff was prancing round the house; methought I saw the inhabitants of the Pacific ocean dancing round the prisoner they are about to devour."

* " There is in this country a German botanist, who has been here for the last six months, and who saw them in the gardens of Schoenbrun, a few months before his departure. The barbarians have carefully prevented him from coming to give me any news respecting them."

make me suffer the protracted tortures of a slow death; but Providence is too just to allow these sufferings to last much longer. The insalubrity of this dreadful climate, the want of every thing that tends to support life, will soon, I feel, put an end to my existence.

[*Four or five lines were wanting here.**]

"As there is every reason to suppose that you will not be allowed to come and see me before your departure, receive my embrace, and the assurance of my friendship. May you be happy.

"Yours,

"NAPOLEON."

"*Longwood*, 11*th December*, 1816."

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* "The last moments of which will be an opprobrium to the English name; and Europe will one day stigmatize with horror that perfidious and wicked man; all true Englishmen will disown him as a Briton."

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